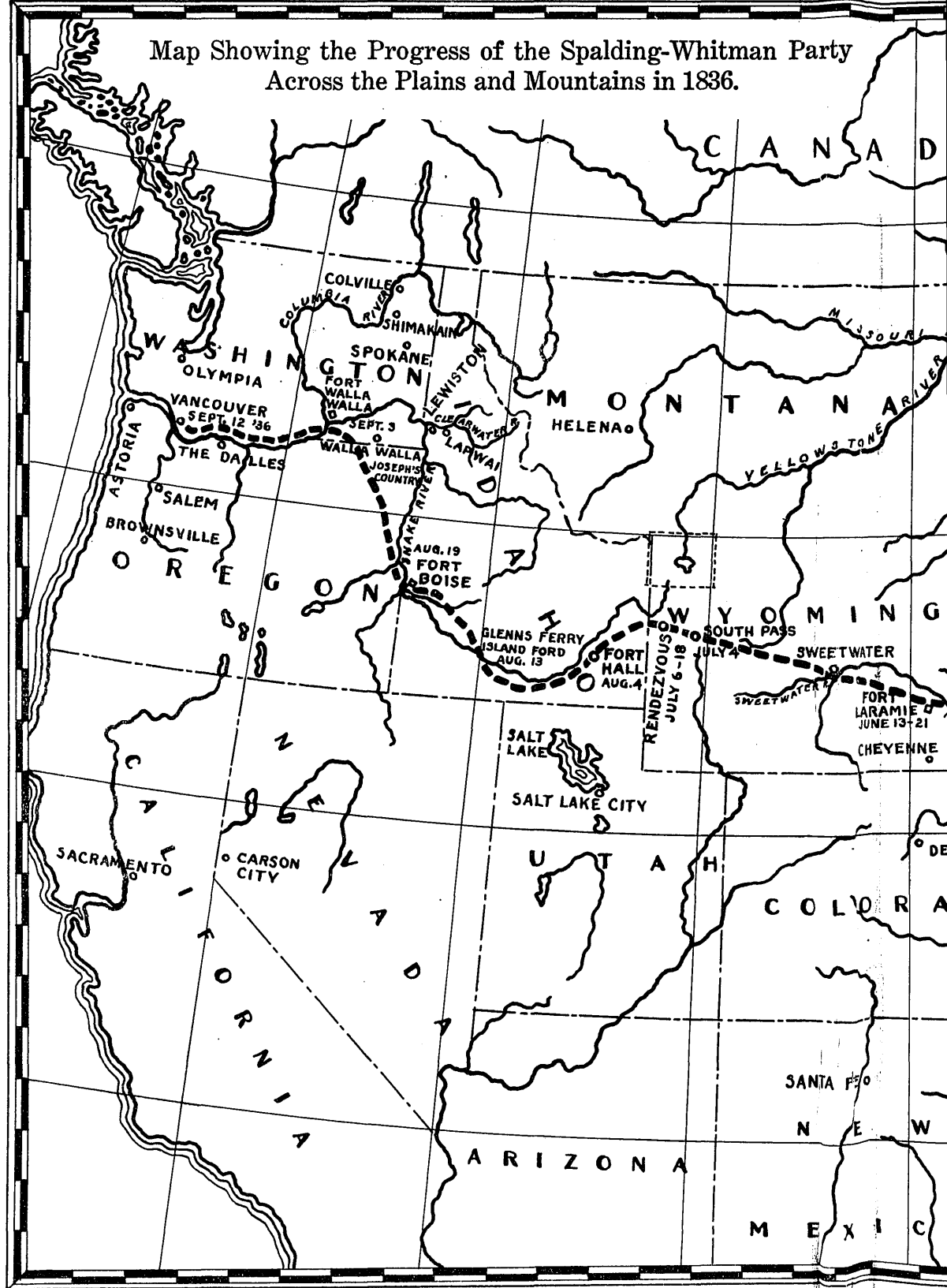






Map Showing the Progress of the Spalding-Whitman Party
Across the Plains and Mountains in 1836.





Party

CANADA

MISSOURI RIVER
AN ARIVER
FLOWS TONE

NORTH

DAKOTA

BISMARK

SOUTH

PIERRE

DAKOTA

MISSISSIPPI RIVER

LAKE SUPERIOR

WISCONSIN

ST. PAUL

MINNESOTA

OMING

NEBRASKA

LOUP FORK R. COLUMBUS

MAY 25

OMAHA

OTOE RESERVATION

FREMONT

MAY 23

LINCOLN

TOPEKA

ST. LOUIS

MARCH 29-31 1836

COLORADO

KANSAS

MISSOURI

SANTA FE

OKLAHOMA CITY
OKLAHOMA

LITTLE ROCK

ARKANSAS

MEXICO

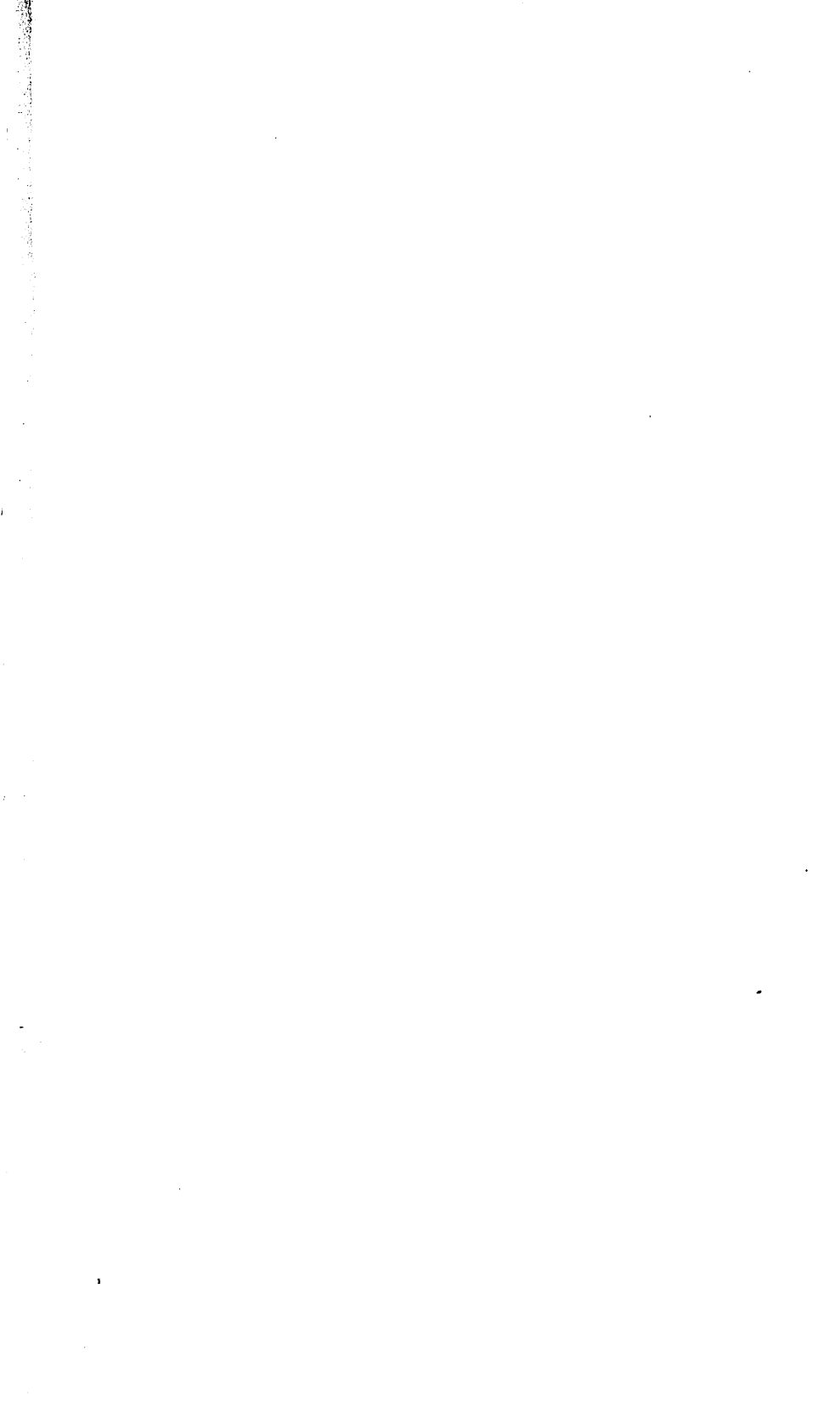
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Mar. 25. 1936

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HENRY HARMON SPALDING

CLIFFORD MERRILL DRURY, Ph.D.
PASTOR
FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
MOSCOW, IDAHO





Rev. H. H. Spalding

REV. H. H. SPALDING.

Photograph courtesy of Mrs. F. B. Milliorn, Eugene, Oregon.

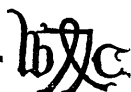
*Pioneer
of Old Oregon*



Henry Harmon Spalding

By

Clifford Merrill Drury, Ph. D.



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1141450

TO MY SON

ROBERT MERRILL DRURY

*Youthful lover of history and geography, and companion
on some of my excursions for source material*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

SUCH a work as this is impossible without the valued co-operation and assistance of many interested parties. I wish particularly to express my appreciation to the following, who have loaned material, given advice and criticism, or otherwise assisted:

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To all, I hereby express my deep appreciation.

C. M. D.

P R E F A C E

DOCTOR DRURY'S book is a distinct contribution to the history of Old Oregon, which at its time included all of the territory between the 42 degree and 54 degree 40 minute parallels, and between the crest of the Rockies and the Pacific, embodying, therefore, the present states of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, and portions of Montana and Wyoming. Though writers of the history of this region have generally given a fair and adequate appraisal of the relative importance of the explorers, fur traders, and missionaries, in winning this region for white civilization, the evaluation of the services rendered by individuals remains the task for the historians and biographers of this and coming generations. This reappraisal will probably be the result of the discovery of new facts and will in other instances constitute a new synthesis of known facts.

The present biographer, although he does not class himself as a revisionist, feels strongly that the estimates placed upon the work of the various Protestant missionaries have not done justice to Henry Harmon Spalding. The Whitman controversy has brought the work of that pioneer into bold relief. The publication of the diary of Narcissa Prentiss Whitman has not only made readers acquainted with her interesting personality but has indebted them to her for an interesting story of the experiences of pioneer women, a chapter of western history which needs yet to be written. Doctor Brosnan's excellent work on Jason Lee has given students a thorough knowledge of that missionary's activity in the Willamette Valley. Nothing comparable, however, had been done for Mr. Spalding, or his wife Eliza Hart Spalding, until Doctor Drury undertook the task.

The author attributes the neglect of Mr. Spalding to three factors. This pioneer clergyman escaped the uninvited fate of a martyr's death which came to the Whitmans; therefore, he has also missed the martyr's fame. Lee and Whitman were deliberate and conspicuous pro-

moters for the colonization of Oregon, and the somewhat acrimonious controversy as to whether Whitman saved Oregon for the United States merely added to the knowledge of his career. Lastly, Mr. Spalding lived to a ripe old age, which neither Lee nor Whitman attained, and it was during the late period of his life that the subject of this new book did certain things which did not contribute to his popularity. It is not the task of the scholar to detract from the fame of persons whose work has been acknowledged; he is, however, under obligation to reveal the contributions of those who were outstanding forces in a historical movement.

Spalding was a very versatile man; hence, one would expect his accomplishments to have been most varied. At his home, the first in the white man's sense within the boundaries of the present state of Idaho, he introduced farming, irrigation, horticulture, and animal husbandry, all of which still rank among the basic industries of the state. A flour mill, a sawmill, and a blacksmith shop represent his contributions to the introduction into this region of the various crafts. His church, school, and printing press were the symbols of learning. Studies in Indian linguistics, crowned by the translation of the gospel of Matthew into Nez Perce, constitute the first contributions in scholarship to which the Northwest can lay claim. One should, however, probably determine his relative success in terms of his professional career, namely, that of missionary, and in this respect nine hundred Indian baptisms among four distinct tribes, and the founding of nine Protestant churches, which still function among Nez Percés and Spokanes, probably bespeak genuine success. One cannot blame the student who considers these facts, if he is determined to rescue such a character from obscurity. While a mere reappraisal could possibly be achieved without extensive heuristics in untrodden fields, Doctor Drury has made a thorough reconnaissance of the unpublished and hitherto unavailable data his primary task, and in this he has succeeded beyond his fondest anticipations.

The author has had free access to the unpublished diary of Spalding, a manuscript of about 30,000 words,

and has used for the first time the missionary's extensive correspondence of 400 letters received, and 200 sent; these together with significant newspaper items which former writers should have ferreted out constitute material which has not appeared in former accounts of Northwest subjects. Much of the data which he has gathered will upon separate publication shed new light on subjects related to the lives of Reverend and Mrs. H. H. Spalding. Dr. Drury has proceeded with the firm resolution to tell the complete story without any embellishments, with the determination to suppress nothing, and the intention to show clearly how the facts have contributed to his conclusions. The constant appearance of new data is the greatest factor in keeping alive the profession of the historian and in no field of scholarship are new facts more welcome than in history. Many new sources discovered by the author which are not pertinent to the story of the Spaldings will appear in a book on Whitman now in preparation.

It will be a happy coincidence that the centennial of the arrival of the Spalding-Whitman-Gray party in Old Oregon will be celebrated in 1936, and that this definitive Spalding biography by Doctor Drury will, therefore, be particularly opportune.

HERMAN J. DEUTSCH

Associate Professor, American History
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HENRY HARMON SPALDING

ABBREVIATIONS

THE FOLLOWING abbreviations are used to indicate collections of source material, most of which has not been published:

Coll. A.—The American Board, Boston, Massachusetts, has the original correspondence from the missionaries to the Board and copies of the letters from the Board to the missionaries. Copies of most of the letters from 1836 to 1847, estimated to contain at least 400,000 words, are to be found in the Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.

Coll. O.—The Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon, has many original Spalding and Whitman letters, old newspapers, and other important source material.

Coll. P.—The Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, owns a collection of eight Spalding letters and other material.

Coll. S.—The Spokane Public Library, Spokane, Washington, has a number of Spalding letters and much source material bearing upon this subject.

Coll. W.—Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington, has the original diaries of Mr. and Mrs. Spalding and the Eells collection of the Spalding correspondence. This contains about four hundred letters which Spalding received, besides many that he wrote. This valuable collection contains originals from Walker, Eells, Whitman, Gray, Lyman Beecher, McLoughlin, Griffin, Perrin Whitman, Elwood Evans, David Greene, and others.

Coll. Wn.—Washington State College, Pullman, Washington, has a fine collection of Spalding and Whitman material which includes twelve Spalding letters, the original Wakeman manuscripts, and other important items.

CHAPTER ONE

THE FIRST TWENTY-EIGHT YEARS

HENRY HARMON SPALDING,¹ pioneer of Old Oregon, was a pioneer all his life. He was born November 26, 1803, in a log cabin in what was then Bath, but is now Wheeler, Steuben County, New York.² At that time Bath, which is now the county seat of Steuben County, was but ten years old. The other towns of the county, such as Wheeler and Prattsburg, later associated with Spalding's youth, were just getting started. Amid the pioneer conditions associated with primitive frontier life, Henry grew to manhood.

He attended schools that had no history, for they were too new. Even the church was experiencing a rebirth. In Spalding's lifetime, the foreign missionary movement in the United States grew from a haystack prayer meeting to a great world-wide organization. Spalding shared in the venturesome spirit of that movement with an enthusiasm which never abated. He identified himself with it and was one of the first to go to distant Oregon, then considered by the church as a foreign mission field.

There in Old Oregon, with his courageous wife and equally courageous fellow-workers, he lived amid conditions even more primitive, and far more remote, than those of western New York in the days of his youth. He came from the Empire State to help lay the foundations of what is now known as the Inland Empire.³ He was the first trail blazer for those who came after to establish the present State of Idaho.

¹ Spalding always spelled his name, according to all available records, without the "u," although in his school records, on his college diploma, and in letters written by contemporaries, his name is spelled with the "u."

² An old resident of Wheeler, who knew Spalding, recently pointed out the site of his birth. It is in a field on the Marshal farm, about forty yards south of the railroad crossing.

³ Inland Empire, a loose term for the parts of Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon comprised between the Rocky Mountains and the Cascades.

The facts of his early life are fragmentary. With great patience one must find and fit them together, like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. Until recent researches brought to light new information regarding Spalding's birth and early life, the prevailing ignorance reflected itself in contradictory statements and misleading information which the few who were interested in his life passed on to others. For instance, in addition to Bath, which Spalding himself always claimed as his birth-place,⁴ two other places have been designated—Troy, Pennsylvania, and Prattsburg, Steuben County, New York.⁵

HIS PARENTAGE

One of the greatest gifts which parents can bestow upon their children is the gift of being well born. Henry Spalding entered this world with a handicap, in that he was born out of wedlock. His father was Howard Spalding of Troy, Pennsylvania, born April 24, 1776, at Plainfield, Connecticut. Howard Spalding was of the sixth generation of the Spaldings in America. Howard's father was Joseph, Jr., the son of Joseph, Sr., the son of Nathaniel, the son of Joseph, the son of Edward.

Edward, with his brother Edmund, came to this country from England about 1619, within twelve years after the first permanent settlement was effected at Jamestown, Virginia. After residing for a time in Virginia, Edward moved to Massachusetts and became the progenitor of the New England branch of the Spaldings. He settled first at Braintree and then at Chelmsford. About 1700, a number of the Spaldings moved to Vermont and another group to Plainfield, Connecticut, which

⁴ *Spalding Memorial*, p. 455. Also, inscriptions on tombstone of Spalding grave, Spalding, Idaho, and statement on back of photograph in Coll. W. (Whitman Collection).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 257 lists H. H. Spalding as the son of Howard and Lucy, born at Troy, Pennsylvania. Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 317, states that he was born in Prattsburg. See also his article in *Whitman College Quarterly*, December, 1898, p. 3. A monument, erected at Prattsburg, states that he was born at Wheeler. He was born in what was Bath but is now Wheeler.

became the home of their descendants for several generations.

Before 1790 a wave of immigration began sweeping westward from New England over the Alleghenies into western New York, western Pennsylvania, and Ohio. This surge into the West carried members of the Spalding family and dropped them in Bradford County, Pennsylvania. Among them was Howard Spalding, then a lad of ten years. His family settled on the west side of the Chemung River, within a few miles of Troy. Their residence was later in the town of Athens. It was this Howard Spalding who, in 1803, became the father of Henry Harmon Spalding.

Available records do not indicate with certainty the identity of Henry's mother. The second edition of the *Spalding Memorial*, which appeared in 1897, suggests that his mother was Lucy Allen, who married Howard Spalding on October 26, 1806, nearly three years after Henry was born.⁶ Howard and Lucy Spalding became the parents of ten children, four girls and six boys, all of whom were born at Troy. Several references have been found in the Spalding correspondence to his brothers and sisters living at Troy or in the vicinity, and even to his father, but no reference to a mother, even though Lucy Allen Spalding was alive at the time.⁷

There are, moreover, serious discrepancies between the first and second editions of the *Spalding Memorial* which are most significant when compared with other facts. The first edition was issued in 1872 by the Rev. Samuel J. Spalding, then pastor of the Congregational Church at Newburyport, Massachusetts, a distant cousin of Henry H. Spalding. H. H. Spalding visited his cousin in December, 1870, and undoubtedly gave such information as he could regarding his ancestry.⁸ The first edition, accordingly, indicates that Henry H. Spalding was born

⁶ Haverly, *Pioneer and Patriot Families of Bradford County*, Vol. 1, p. 83 gives the date of Howard's and Lucy's marriage.

⁷ *Spalding Memorial*, p. 257 (2nd ed.). This list omits the name of Myron, b. July 31, 1807, d. Sept. 12, 1807, which is given in the first edition. Howard Spalding died December 17, 1857.

⁸ A letter from S. J. Spalding to H. H. Spalding dated November 10, 1869, regarding family genealogy is in Coll. W.

at Bath, the son of Howard Spalding but does not list him among the children born to Howard and Lucy Spalding at Troy, Pennsylvania.⁹ The inclusion of Henry H. among the children of Howard and Lucy was done by the editor of the second edition of the *Spalding Memorial*, undoubtedly through ignorance of the true facts of Henry's birth. Dr. S. J. Spalding made no reference to Henry's mother, which omission might be explained as an act of Christian courtesy.

The question then arises: If Lucy Allen was not the mother of Henry, who was? Evidence points to a sister of William Holmes, one of the early settlers in the vicinity of Wheeler.

The village of Wheeler was named after Silas Wheeler,¹⁰ who is reported to have been one of the patriots who took part in the Boston Tea Party. Wheeler served under General Nathaniel Greene in the attack on Boston, and was with Benedict Arnold in the attack on Quebec, December 31, 1776. Wheeler married Sarah Gardner at Providence, Rhode Island, to which union were born twin girls, Ruth and Sarah, in 1781. In 1783 a son arrived, who was called Grattan after Henry Grattan, the Irish patriot who once was of great service to Silas Wheeler. After Grattan's birth in 1783 and before 1790, the family moved to Rensselaersville, New York, near Albany.¹¹

The 1790 census shows that the family of James Holmes, Jr., consisting of one male over sixteen (James himself), two males under sixteen and three females, also lived at Rensselaersville. The Holmes boys are not named, but in all probability one of them was William, who later married Sarah Wheeler.¹² Ruth married a Nathan Rose and now lies buried at Wheeler, New York.¹³

⁹ The second edition keeps the first reference, p. 455, but changes the second reference, p. 257.

¹⁰ Born Concord, Mass., March 7, 1752.

¹¹ Information furnished by Dr. F. C. Waite of Cleveland, who consulted the 1790 census reports and other sources.

¹² William and Sarah Holmes were the parents of Betsy, Lucy, Henry G., Ruth, Polly, and Harriet.

¹³ Her tombstone states that she died Feb. 12, 1832, aged 50.

When Silas Wheeler settled near Bath, it was natural that his daughter Sarah and her family should settle in the same neighborhood. Available records indicate that William Holmes was a ne'er-do-well. Original tax records of Wheeler for 1813 show that William Holmes paid a tax of \$2.63 on the fifty-two acres of land he owned, which was valued at \$600.00.¹⁴ Sarah, his first wife, died some time after 1817. Holmes married again and had four children by this union.¹⁵ He died in 1829. According to the will filed in the county courthouse, Holmes left \$54.00 to his widow and \$10.35 to each of his ten children.

A local tradition states that a "Holmes girl" was the mother of Henry H. Spalding. It is very evident from a reference to the dates involved that this girl was not the daughter of William Holmes. In all probability she was his sister, as yet unidentified by name.

Joseph Spalding, the grandfather of Henry Harmon, settled in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, some time between 1790 and 1800. The original tax records, above referred to, indicate that in 1813, Joseph Spalding paid taxes of \$3.22 on one hundred and fifty acres, valued at \$800.00; and that Jared, his son, paid \$4.04 taxes on two hundred and fifty acres, valued at \$1,000.00. This land was located in the vicinity of Wheeler. The old home of Jared Spalding is still standing, being located about two miles north of Bath. In the corner of a near-by field is a Spalding cemetery, in which lie buried Jared Spalding; Naomi (Baldwin) Spalding, his wife; Philo, his son; and members of Philo's family.¹⁶

THE PROBABLE STORY

From these assembled facts, we can reconstruct the outline of what probably took place. In 1797, Howard

¹⁴ Original records owned by Frederick Marshal, Kanona, N. Y..

¹⁵ The records of land transactions in the courthouse at Bath, N. Y. show that "Sally Holmes" signed papers on Jan. 2, 1817, and "Susan Holmes" signed on February 19, 1829.

¹⁶ Jared Spalding died Nov. 20, 1863, aged 85 years and 1 month. In company with Dr. F. C. Waite of Cleveland, and Mr. Frederick Marshal of Kanona, N. Y., I visited the Spalding homestead and the cemetery on July 19, 1935.

Spalding reached his maturity and two years later his brother Jared likewise became of age. Somewhere about that time their father, Joseph, bought land between Bath and Wheeler and sent his two sons there to clear and cultivate it. In the early part of 1803, when Howard was twenty-six or twenty-seven, he found himself involved with the Holmes girl. For some reason a marriage was not deemed advisable, perhaps because of the youth of the girl. Howard decided that the best thing for him to do was to leave the country. He, accordingly, returned to Bradford County. There he formed another attachment and on October 26, 1806, married Lucy Allen. They made their home at Athens, Pennsylvania, where some of their descendants still reside.

Jared married in 1802, and after living for a time at Mt. Morris, Wyoming County, New York, settled on a farm near Bath. In 1813, Jared had two hundred and fifty acres in his own name. On that date the father, Joseph Spalding, was paying taxes on one hundred and fifty acres, which might have been the land intended for Howard had he remained there.

According to local tradition, Henry Harmon Spalding was born in the log cabin occupied by William Holmes, which was located about one and one-half miles south of Wheeler. The cabin has long since been torn down. When Henry was a babe but fourteen months old, perhaps when he was weaned, he was "bound out" to Mr. and Mrs. Andrew J. Broat, Jr., who lived near the present village of Wheeler. Since it was unusual for a child so young to be bound out, it is possible that some financial arrangement satisfactory to the Broats had been made. To Mrs. Broat belongs the credit of being the "mother" of Henry Spalding during those important and impressionable years of childhood. She was the only mother he ever knew, and he grew up with the other children of that home and called her "mother."

Local tradition also states that the mother of Henry Spalding married George Renchan, Sr., who died during the war of 1812. For a time Mrs. Renchan worked in the home of Silas Wheeler. In 1814, she gave birth to a boy

whom she named George Renchan¹⁷ after her husband, then two years dead. It is reported that Grattan Wheeler was the father of this boy.¹⁸ In a letter dated March 3, 1898, Fred Marshal, a grandson of General O. F. Marshal,¹⁹ who was one of Spalding's intimate friends, wrote: "George Renchan was a half-brother of H. H. Spalding."²⁰ On March 3, 1935, W. L. Wheeler, a grandson of Grattan H. Wheeler, wrote: "George Renchan was his (i. e. Spalding's) half-brother through his mother. . . ."²¹ A great-granddaughter of the Broats is still alive who claims that she remembers hearing her grandmother call Spalding "her adopted brother."²²

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

When Henry reached maturity and understood the circumstances attending his birth and early childhood, he resented the "unfeeling mother"²³ who was willing to give up her child to strangers when he was but fourteen months old. When a child was bound out, it was usually stipulated in a formal contract, called an indenture, that he was to be treated as a member of the family; that he was to be fed, clothed, and educated; that the parties who took him had the right of corporal punishment; and that at the end of the period, usually designated at twenty-one, the boy was to be given some new clothes and some money. Newspapers of this period carried frequent advertisements offering the reward of one cent for the return of a boy who had run away.²⁴ Such advertise-

¹⁷ The Renchan tombstone in the Wheeler cemetery gives the date 1814-1897. In Spalding's letter to his wife, December 8, 1870, Coll. O., he makes reference to "Brother George" whom he visited.

¹⁸ Grattan Wheeler died March 11, 1852, and was buried in the family plot two miles north of the present village of Wheeler.

¹⁹ B. Aug., 1791, d. Jan., 1891. Buried at Wheeler. He was the son of Rev. Francis D. E. Marshal (one-time chaplain to Frederick the Great) who died May 28, 1812, aged 80 years, also buried at Wheeler.

²⁰ Marshal to Pratt. Original in my possession.—C.M.D.

²¹ Original in my possession.—C.M.D.

²² I called on her in Bath in July, 1935.—C.M.D.

²³ Spalding to his wife, May, 1871. Coll. O.

²⁴ *Ohio Observer*, Hudson, Nov. 2, 1835, carries such an advertisement: "One Cent Reward. Run away from the subscriber... Elijah Dugan, aged 16 years. . . ."

ments indicated that the parties concerned did not regard their loss as being very great, and yet wished to fulfill the demands of the law and make some effort to secure the return of the boy who had been committed to their care.

The first seventeen years of Spalding's life are years of obscurity, for we know practically nothing of the influences and forces which flowed into the life of the boy who found himself to be "worse than an orphan."²⁵ The indications are that he had a hard time. Years later, his pastor, Rev. James Hotchkin, wrote saying that Spalding had been "inured to hardship from infancy."²⁶

In his old age Spalding returned to the scenes of his youth, and through the influence of General Marshal, was asked to occupy the pulpit on a Sunday in May, 1871, in the Presbyterian Church of Wheeler. Some of his old schoolmates and friends were present. Great emotions swept over him as he looked into the faces of gray-headed men and women who knew him in his youth. The intervening years rolled away, and he saw himself with self-pitying eyes in his own yesterdays. The next day he wrote to his wife, and in this letter he pulled aside the veil which had shrouded those first seventeen years:

Some mates of those school days were present, gray headed men and women. What memories. The place where I was born and the place where my unfeeling mother gave me (but 14 months old) to a stranger and saw her child no more, and the place where I was brought up by an adopted mother, and where I was kicked out and the brook and the willow and the hill where I fished and played and tumbled with other children, some present, all in sight, or nearly, and the hills and the bottoms where I gathered chestnuts and butternuts and the road I took when he kicked me out after whipping my mother and me, to a neighbors, sad, destitute, 17, crying, a cast off bastard wishing myself dead. What changes. What emotions.²⁷

A small branch of the Cohocton River flows through that part of early Bath which is now Wheeler. It was in that creek that Henry fished, and all around are the hills and bottoms where the chestnuts and butternuts grow.

²⁵ *History of Steuben County*, p. 364, refers to Spalding in these words.

²⁶ Hotchkin to American Board, Aug. 6, 1835. Coll. A.

²⁷ Coll. O. Spalding was careless about punctuation marks. All quotations herein given are as the originals.

The main road leading from Bath to Prattsburg passes through Wheeler, it being about half way. It is probable that the weeping seventeen-year-old boy, after some tragic experience in the home where he had been bound out, took the road to Prattsburg. And it is also altogether probable that the infuriated foster father shouted out after him the odious epithet: "Bastard!" No wonder he went to a neighbor's, "wishing myself dead."

Spalding never returned to the home from which he had been ejected, at least not to live. He was cast out in 1820, probably in the fall of the year, for in his Diary he speaks of going to live with Ezra Rice, "a universalist," who was a school teacher. Spalding lived with Rice for four years. Of these years he wrote in his Diary: "... (I) worked for my board and went to a common school which he taught."²⁸

In November, 1824, Spalding reached his majority. His opportunities to attend school while living with Ezra Rice must have been limited, for when he was twenty-one he could only read with difficulty and could laboriously "write after a copy."²⁹ During the winter, 1824-25, he had "some serious impressions occasioned by lonely reflections, but they were not lasting." It is possible that Spalding was then beginning to realize the legal limitations and social handicaps attached to his birth.

On his thirty-fifth birthday, or on November 26, 1838, Henry Spalding began a diary, at the beginning of which he wrote a brief résumé of his earlier years. Referring to his spiritual condition fourteen years previous, that is, in 1824, he wrote: "I was in the broad road that leads to hell preferring it to the straight and narrow way that leadeth to life and peace."³⁰

THE CHURCH AT PRATTSBURG

The town of Prattsburg, New York, founded in the first decade of the nineteenth century, was named after the Pratt family, original owners of the land and the first settlers. Jared Pratt settled there in 1800, and Cap-

²⁸ Spalding Diary, p. 1. Original Coll. W.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Spalding Diary, p. 1.

tain Joel Pratt moved his family there in 1805 and was very influential in the affairs of the community which grew up around him. Captain Pratt was a devout Congregationalist, as were many of the pioneers who settled in or near his hamlet. In order that a church might be organized with sufficient financial resources, Captain Pratt required each purchaser to subscribe fifteen dollars to the church for every one hundred acres secured.³¹ On June 26, 1804, the church was organized with fifteen charter members. The church was Congregational in polity until March 6, 1839, from which date until November 18, 1868, it was governed by a modified Presbyterian plan. After the latter date it became fully Presbyterian and is now so listed.³²

This church was one of the many in which the Presbyterians and Congregationalists united in founding under the "Plan of Union" which was adopted in 1801 by the Presbyterian General Assembly and the General Association of Connecticut (Congregational). The plan applied to the new settlements "in the west" which were then springing up. Under the terms of this agreement, the Congregationalists kept their polity while working with the Presbyterian pastors or laymen. Thus, under this plan, a church might have the Congregational plan of government and at the same time belong to a Presbytery. Either a Presbyterian or a Congregational pastor might serve the congregation.³³

In 1809, Rev. James H. Hotchkin, a Congregational minister, went to Prattsburg to be the second pastor of the church. He served until 1830, and was succeeded by Rev. George R. Rudd. Mr. Hotchkin was described as follows:

An admirable specimen of the clergy of the olden time. He stood erect, full six feet high and well proportioned, had a fine forehead, crowned with hair as white as snow; was educated, cor-

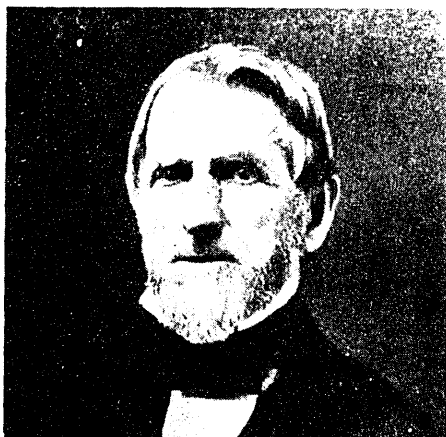
³¹ Pratt, *Historical Sketch*, p. 2.

³² Miller, *Presbyterianism*, p. 54.

³³ The Presbyterian Church as a denomination greatly benefited by this plan. It is reported that the membership of this church increased 50 per cent during the first four years of the nineteenth century, a large proportion of which number came from the New England settlers.



REV. JAMES H. HOTCHKISS, Prattsburg.
Pastor 1809-1830



REV. GEORGE R. RUDD, Prattsburg.
Pastor 1830-1836

SPALDING'S TWO PASTORS AT PRATTSBURG, NEW YORK.
From Miller: *Presbyterianism in Steuben and Allegany.*

rect, dignified, genial orthodox; and when he fell a-preaching or a-praying, kept straight on to the end of his subject, without the slightest regard to the whims of his congregation, or the tokens of passing time.³⁴

Mr. Hotchkin was a man of great ability, and his influence was felt far beyond the confines of his own parish. Under his ministry the church at Prattsburg became the most influential church in the old Steuben Presbytery, and until 1870 had the largest membership of any church within the Presbytery. The peak of its membership was reached in 1840, when the church reported 378 members. At the end of Mr. Hotchkin's ministry, the church had 240 members.

The first structure used for worship purposes was a wooden building erected in 1807, thirty-two by twenty-two feet, which cost about \$220.00. The congregation soon pushed out the walls, so that in 1809 eighteen feet were added to one end, making a structure fifty by twenty-two feet. This building was described as follows:

This church was never, either in its exterior or interior appointments, much of a feast to the lover of fair architectural proportions. Painting never adorned it. It had an entrance at each end by what was at first center doors, but afterwards they were pushed to one side; entering from the west end, one passed about one-third of the length of that 50 foot aisle, when he would reach the space occupied by the pulpit, which was then stuck to the northern wall like a bird's nest.³⁵

The church was unheated. In cold weather the women brought little charcoal-burning foot-warmers.³⁶ The men bore the cold as best they could, while Mr. Hotchkin preached wearing striped mittens. Under his consecrated ministry, the church continued to grow. In 1820 the rectangular structure was sawn in two, from end to end, through the middle, and the north half of the building moved eleven feet. The intervening space was built up anew, thus making a room fifty by thirty-three feet. This structure satisfied the congregation for about seven years,

³⁴ Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

³⁵ Pratt, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

³⁶ The foot-warmers were common in New England homes of that day. It appears that the Puritans adopted their use during the sojourn in Holland.

when it was torn down and a new church, costing \$4,000.00, was erected.

In those plain unpainted wooden structures, lighted with tallow candles at night, the Spirit of God moved the hearts of the people. The members of that congregation took their religion seriously. Sabbath observance was one of the main tests of a Christian's faith.³⁷ The Puritan Sabbath began at sundown on Saturday and continued until sundown on Sunday. It was a grievous sin for any child over six to laugh or even to run on the Sabbath. The following resolution adopted by the Prattsburg Church on October 11, 1808, is indicative of this attitude:

VOTED—that the members of the church will not attend raisings or other similar associations on Saturday in the afternoon.³⁸

Even Saturday afternoon social gatherings were banned for fear that they would encroach on the Sabbath! We also find that Deacon Loomis was diligent in prosecuting all who traveled in the township on the Sabbath.

Under the ministry of the saintly Mr. Hotchkin, there were seasons of spiritual revival. One of these seasons began in the latter part of 1818 and continued into the spring of 1819. This revival at Prattsburg was coincident with a spiritual awakening which was felt in all places under New England influence. Perhaps affected by that tide of religious fervor, a little golden-haired girl eleven years old joined the church at Prattsburg on Sunday, June 6, 1819. Her name was Narcissa Prentiss.³⁹

Another revival came in 1825, which brought in between sixty and seventy members. On Sunday, October 2, 1825, Rev. James H. Hotchkin baptized Henry Harmon Spalding and received him into the church, along with

³⁷ The Sabbath literally means "seventh" and very properly applies only to Saturday, the seventh day of the week. However, since the word was used then to denote Sunday, I shall so use it, in order to avoid confusion.—C.M.D.

³⁸ Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

³⁹ Cannon, *Waiilatpu*, p. 8, states that Spalding was present and "intensely interested." There is no evidence for this, as Spalding did not leave Wheeler until 1820. He may or may not have been present.

eight others, on confession of faith.⁴⁰ In 1840 the American Board asked Spalding, who was then living at Lapwai, to fill out a questionnaire. One question was: "When, where hopefully converted?" In answer, Spalding wrote: "Summer of 1826. Prattsburg. No revival."⁴¹ The last two words are significant. In 1840 Spalding felt that he had not been swept into the church on the emotional fervor of a great revival. Since Spalding, however, was in Prattsburg in 1825 when the church was feeling the blessing of a spiritual quickening, it is hard to believe that it had no effect on him. Spalding joined the church when he was twenty-two years old, a time when such an act calls for a great conviction.

SPALDING'S RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

Spalding makes one reference to this spiritual experience in his letter of application to the American Board dated August 7, 1835, when he wrote:

... lived a very wicked life among wicked men till the age of 22 when God in his great mercy rescued me from the depths of sin and brought me, as I hope, into his kingdom, ignorant indeed & poor and with feeble health.⁴²

This tendency to condemn one's life before conversion as being "very wicked" is common to many converts to Christianity. Some are inclined to magnify their previous condition. No evidence has been uncovered to indicate that Henry Spalding was an unusually wicked boy in his youth. Instead, his diffident and retiring nature, acquired perhaps through frequent reminders of his background, was not compatible with the kind of a life he afterwards said he lived. Rev. Joel Wakeman, D.D., wrote the early years of Spalding's life as follows:

It was said of him that he was a truthful, faithful industrious boy; diffident and retiring in manner and possessed an amiable, quiet spirit.⁴³

⁴⁰ Minute from record book of Prattsburg Church, in care of Mrs. W. H. Hoag, Prattsburg.

⁴¹ Coll. A. Spalding had a poor memory for figures. Here he stated that he joined the church in 1826.

⁴² Coll. A.

⁴³ Wakeman is one of the few writers I have found, outside of

Rev. James H. Hotchkin exercised a mighty influence for good in Spalding's life. As late as 1850, shortly before his death in September, 1851, we find Hotchkin writing to Henry Spalding in distant Oregon, and signing himself as: "Your aged and affectionate friend."⁴⁴

FRANKLIN ACADEMY

The church is the mother of the school, especially under Presbyterianism and Congregationalism. The pioneers of Prattsburg were as much concerned about proper educational facilities as they were about having a church. As soon as children were ready for school, schools were provided. For a time these were conducted as private enterprises. In 1812 common schools were established with the village schoolhouse next to the church. Advanced pupils were taken into the home of the pastor, Rev. James H. Hotchkin.

Among the early settlers in Prattsburg were such men of refinement and education as Judge Robert Porter,⁴⁵ who was largely responsible for the founding of Franklin Academy. Judge Porter had been principal of Hamilton Academy, later Hamilton College, at Clinton, New York, from 1803 to 1806.⁴⁶ In 1823 trustees were appointed and over \$3,000.00 raised for a permanent fund. The citizens of the town taxed themselves for an additional \$2,000.00 to cover the cost of erecting a suitable building, which was described as follows:

When built its dimensions were 52 x 32 feet, with 21 standing posts, two stories high, surmounted with a cupola and belfry.⁴⁷

On February 25, 1824, the charter was granted, and early in that year the Academy opened its doors to young

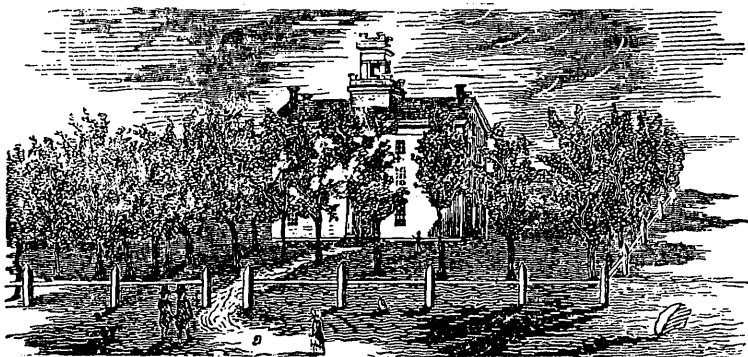
the mission band, who wrote of the Spaldings and Whitmans from personal experience. Original Mss. in Coll. Wn. These articles were published in the *Prattsburg News*, 1893 and 1898.

⁴⁴ Coll. W. contains at least two Hotchkin letters.

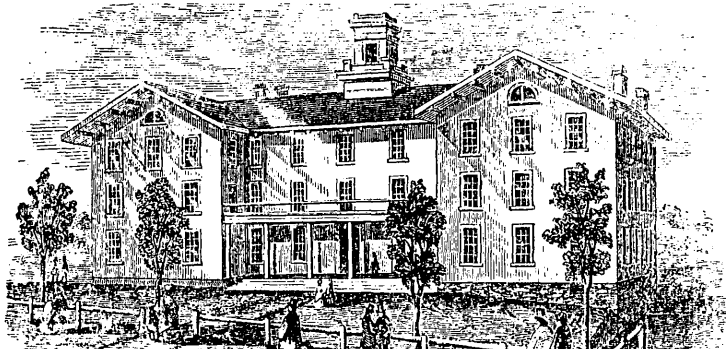
⁴⁵ A brother of Dr. Noah Porter, once president of Yale. Robert Porter was graduated from Yale in 1795.

⁴⁶ Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁴⁷ Pratt, *op. cit.*, p. 20.



Franklin Academy, from an old wood cut, erected in 1824.



Franklin Academy, from an old wood cut, after it was enlarged in 1827 to accommodate the "female department."



Franklin Academy and Prattsburg church. The church was erected in 1828, repaired in 1845 and 1881, and was burned with the Academy building in February, 1923. Spalding worshipped in the church when at Prattsburg.

Courtesy Miss Charlotte Howe of Prattsburg.

men, with William Beardsley as principal.⁴⁸ Beardsley remained until 1828.

In the summer of 1825, when Spalding was in his twenty-second year, he enrolled in the Academy. He lived with Richard Hull⁴⁹ on a farm three miles from the town. There he worked for his board and room not only during the non-school hours but also on Wednesday of each week.

Spalding made special mention of his "bashfulness" in his Diary when writing of this period. In those days public speaking was considered an essential part of the curriculum of every academy and college. This Spalding found very difficult. How he dreaded to stand up before others and speak! Using modern psychological terms, could we not call this "bashfulness" an inferiority complex? And how could it have been otherwise? He was then nearly twenty-two years old, older than the majority of the students in his classes. He had but the rudiments of grammar and arithmetic. He lacked the social graces, and was undoubtedly clad in the very plainest of clothing. Many of his classmates came from the best homes of Prattsburg and vicinity, while he had no loving parents to help him get an education. He was "worse than an orphan."

Aware of his deficiencies, Spalding gave special attention to his weak points and by remarkable perseverance finally became highly proficient in those very lines. He, who dreaded to stand up before his classmates, became the most eloquent of all the missionaries in Old Oregon.

SPALDING TEACHES SCHOOL

Spalding made such proficiency in his studies that he qualified for a teaching position in 1826. Being pressed for funds, he dropped out of the Academy and took a

⁴⁸ Beardsley was about 27 years old at the time, had spent one year at Auburn Theological Seminary. *Prattsburg Advertiser* gives his name as principal of the Academy for the term ending April 6, 1828. See issue of July 20, 1828. After leaving Prattsburg he resumed his theological studies and became a college professor. Taught at Wheaton College, 1859-66.

⁴⁹ Prattsburg Church Record, p. 92, states that Richard Hull died Dec. 30, 1825.

school for the winter of 1826-27, at Benton, Yates County, which was about twenty-five miles from Prattsburg. The next summer Spalding was back in the Academy, again staying with the Hull family, but this time spending his Wednesdays, as well as the other school days, at the Academy. Writing of these days in his Diary, Spalding again made mention of his campaign against "bashfulness." He wrote: "I cannot say that it was an honorable one to myself, though I made great inroads upon the enemy. Still for many years after he showed himself an unconquered enemy."

During the winter of 1827-28, Spalding taught a school at Wheeler, perhaps the very school that his friend Ezra Rice had once taught, and the one that Spalding himself had attended. The following summer, Spalding divided his time between teaching school in Penn Yan, Yates County, and working on a farm. That winter, 1828-29, he taught his fourth school in East Bloomfield, Ontario County, which was about forty miles northwest of Prattsburg.⁵⁰

HE DECIDES FOR THE MINISTRY

During the winter of 1828-29, Henry Spalding had a second great spiritual experience. While teaching school at East Bloomfield, there came to his hands a religious tract which set forth the needs of 600,000,000. The authors of the tract were Samuel Newell and Gordon Hall, two of a group intimately connected with the beginning of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

In 1806 a group of students at Williams College, under the leadership of Samuel J. Mills, bound themselves by solemn pledges to give their lives to the foreign mission cause.⁵¹ The Protestant churches of America had passed through dark days following the Revolutionary War. The religious life of the people reached a low ebb,

⁵⁰ The record of his school-teaching experience comes from his Diary. Spalding, however, is vague about dates, hence the above reconstructed chronology may be wrong in some particulars.

⁵¹ A group of students accustomed to meet in a grove were caught in a rain and sought shelter in a haystack, where Mills proposed foreign missions. A monument now marks the site.

especially in the colleges and institutions of learning. Atheism and skepticism flourished. Unitarianism was thriving at Boston, to the consternation and dismay of the orthodox element in the churches. In 1808 the conservatives succeeded in opening Andover Theological Seminary. Previous to this, all students for the ministry had been trained in such colleges as Princeton, Yale, and Harvard. To the newly opened seminary went Mills and his companions of the haystack prayer group, and Judson, Newell, Hall, and others from other institutions.

In 1810, five students from Andover, including Newell and Hall, presented themselves before the General Association (Congregational) of Massachusetts and offered to go as foreign missionaries. The American churches had no foreign mission board.⁵² Out of that bold and zealous offer of lives came the American Board, which took form in February, 1812. Four denominations coöperated, namely, the Congregational, the Presbyterian, the Dutch Reformed, and the German Reformed. For twenty-seven years these four denominations worked together. This explains why Henry Spalding, an ordained Presbyterian minister, and Dr. Marcus Whitman, a Presbyterian elder, were sent to Old Oregon under what is now a Congregational agency.⁵³

In February, 1812, the newly organized mission board sent five workers to India—Judson, Rice, Newell, Nott, and Hall. Both Judson and Rice had been educated at Brown College, a Baptist institution, and were therefore convinced of the validity of Baptist principles. They returned to this country and were instrumental in stirring the Baptist Church to form its own mission board. Newell and Hall, after being on the foreign field for a few years, and seeing the tremendous need for Christian missionaries, collaborated in the preparation of a tract to be addressed to the Christians of the world. It was en-

⁵² The well-spring of missionary work in America began about 1788 in Connecticut in a home missionary movement for Indians.

⁵³ In 1837 the Presbyterian Church divided into the Old School and the New School. The former withdrew from the A.B.C.F.M. and established its own Board. The New School remained until 1870 when it united with the Old School Board. The Dutch Reformed Church withdrew in 1858, and the German Reformed in 1879.

titled: "The Conversion of the World or the Claims of Six Hundred Millions, and the Ability and Duty of the Churches Respecting Them."⁵⁴

The tract was issued by the American Tract Society of Boston prior to 1821, and then reissued by the American Tract Society of New York in 1825. It contained twenty-four pages and about 8,500 words. The authors began with the premise that the Scriptures plainly taught the obligation of all Christians to see that the gospel was preached to the entire world. They estimated the population of the world at about 800,000,000, and the number of Christians at about 200,000,000, which left 600,000,000 unevangelized.

The authors proposed a plan by which they estimated that the whole world could be evangelized within twenty-one years. According to this plan each unit of one hundred Protestant church members was to send out one missionary every seven years. A later generation of Christian students was stimulated by the slogan: "The evangelization of the world in this generation." Long before, however, Newell and Hall talked about doing the same thing.

It was this tract by Newell and Hall which came to the attention of Spalding. He read it and reread it with the deepest interest. The arguments presented appealed to him, and he resolved there at East Bloomfield to give his life to the foreign mission cause.⁵⁵ "This resolution," he wrote in his Diary "interfered with others more of a worldly nature which of course were broken."

SPALDING RETURNS TO THE ACADEMY

When Spalding considered his plans for the future, he saw before him the full college course of four years, plus the seminary course of three years. He was then in his twenty-sixth year. There was no institution in western New York offering a full four-year college

⁵⁴ A copy of this tract is to be found in *Tracts*, General Series, Vol. IV, of the American Tract Society.

⁵⁵ In 1840, when Spalding filled out the questionnaire for the American Board, in answer to the question: "What induced you to study [for the ministry]?" Spalding wrote: "Reading a tract setting forth the wants of 600,000,000." Coll. A.

course at that time. The nearest college to the east was Hamilton at Clinton, about one hundred and fifty miles from Prattsburg. To the west, at Hudson, Ohio, two hundred and fifty miles distant, was Western Reserve College, founded in 1826. Franklin Academy, however, was prepared to give the first two years of college work, so Spalding returned to Prattsburg.

During the summer of 1828 the trustees of the Academy secured the services of Eli E. Eddy,⁵⁶ M.A., a teacher of superior qualifications and of twenty years' experience, as principal to succeed William Beardsley. They were also successful in securing from the state legislature "a grant of two thousand dollars for the purchase of a suitable library and chemical and philosophical [i. e. for teaching physics] apparatus." Tuition charges were then fixed at six dollars a term, or twelve dollars a year. An extra dollar was charged those who took drawing or painting. Room rent was one dollar. "The common price of board," they advertised, "including washing and lodging, is one dollar and fifty cents per week."⁵⁷

On January 16, 1829, the trustees passed a resolution permitting "all indigent students," who were studying for the ministry to be excused "from the payment of term bills for tuition and use of the Library provided such students are members in regular standing of some Christian denomination, of the age of fifteen years at least and shall continue members of the Academy and shall pursue classical studies four months of the year and conform themselves to all the laws of the Academy."

Those making application for such privileges had to be recommended by a Prudential Committee. Among the rules for their government were the following:

No one shall be admitted as a student unless he is able to read correctly and write a legible hand.

It is required of all students that they conduct [themselves] with propriety on all occasions while members of the Academy, that they treat with due respect the inhabitants of this village, as well as all others with whome they meet, and especially the Trustees and Instructors of the Academy.

⁵⁶ Died Aug. 1, 1832. Aged 49. Buried at Bath, N. Y.

⁵⁷ Advertisement, *Steuben Farmers' Advocate*, Jan., 1829.

It is required that they be decent in their dress as well as in their conduct—that they observe the Sabbath Day by attending both before and after noon worship at the meeting house in this village unless their parents or guardians wish them to attend elsewhere; that they avoid all playing, visiting, unnecessary walking in the streets or fields; and it is recommended to them that they read no books on that day but such as are of a serious nature; it is further required of students that they avoid all profane swearing, gambling, fighting and other disgraceful conduct; that they avoid frequenting taverns and groceries and doing any injury to the Academy building and its appendages.⁵⁸

On March 9, 1829, Henry Spalding, together with three others, signed a statement to the effect that he was an "indigent student," and that it was his "serious purpose to devote his life to the Christian ministry." He also signed the following:

Know all men by these presents, that I, Henry H. Spalding of the town of Prattsburgh in the county of Steuben do hereby acknowledge myself indebted to the Trustees of Franklin Academy, in the sum of one hundred dollars to be levied of my goods and chattels, lands and tenements within nine years from the date of this instrument.

It was understood that should Henry fail to become an ordained minister within a reasonable time, he would be obliged to refund the loan, "and not otherwise."⁵⁹

The spring term of the Academy, under the direction of Eli Eddy, began April 23, but Spalding was unable to enroll at that time. Undoubtedly he was still teaching his school at East Bloomfield. Spalding entered the Academy three weeks later, and was given a rebate of eighty-two cents on his tuition. Thirty-five men were enrolled for all or part of that term of twenty-two weeks which closed on September 23.⁶⁰

Upon his return to Prattsburg, Spalding took a new interest in the church. Years later a former resident of Prattsburg wrote: "Mr. Spaulding was my beloved Sunday-school teacher, when I was a lad at home."⁶¹ His

⁵⁸ Original records in care of Mrs. W. H. Hoag of Prattsburg.

⁵⁹ From original framed documents in the Franklin Academy and Prattsburg High School.

⁶⁰ Original term bill in care of Miss Nettie Smith, Prattsburg.

⁶¹ *Prattsburg News*, Jan. 13, 1898. Letter from Levi Fay Waldo, Cañon City, Colorado, Dec. 27, 1897.

deep interest in foreign missions was soon made known to his schoolmates and friends.

Spalding continued his studies at Franklin Academy until he was ready for his last two years of college, in the early fall of 1831. Mr. Eddy left the Academy after one year's service and was succeeded by Seymour Gookins, a Hamilton graduate, under whom Spalding studied for at least two years. It appears that Spalding was favored in having well-qualified teachers during the time spent at Franklin Academy.

In addition to the aid extended by the trustees of the Academy, Spalding secured a scholarship, of an unknown amount, yet it would not have been more than \$50.00 annually, from the American Education Society.⁶² He wrote in his Diary that he practiced "self boarding and manual labor" while at the Academy, and that he had saved up \$150.00 when he started off for college in the fall of 1831. Spalding always lived a frugal life.

NARCISSA PRENTISS

Among the citizens of Prattsburg of Spalding's day was a young woman, who was destined to play an important rôle in his life. Her name was Narcissa Prentiss, the daughter of Stephen and Clarissa Prentiss, who settled in Prattsburg in 1805. Stephen Prentiss was a carpenter, who later served for a time as an associate county judge, and is frequently called Judge Prentiss.⁶³

The Prentiss family took an active part in the church life at Prattsburg, and community affairs, until they moved to Amity (now Belmont), in 1834. Judge and Mrs. Prentiss were the parents of nine children, four boys—Stephen, Harvey, Jonas G., and Edward, and five girls—Narcissa, Jane, Mary Ann, Clarissa, and Harriet. Narcissa, the third child, was born at Prattsburg, March 14, 1808.

⁶² This society was organized in 1815 to aid indigent students studying for the ministry. In 1818 the Presby. Ed. So. was formed, and the two societies united in May, 1827. The first president of the Presby. Soc. was Dr. Boudinot, undoubtedly Dr. Elias Boudinot. *American Quart. Reg.*, Vol. IV, p. 153.

⁶³ The Prentiss (or Prentice) line dates back to 1631 in this country.

There is every reason to believe that Narcissa was highly favored in her parents and in her home life. She joined the Prattsburg church in 1819, when she was but eleven years old, and as she grew older, she took an active part in its work and worship. She is said to have had a fine soprano⁶⁴ voice, which gave her a place in the church choir. She seems to have experienced a spiritual awakening early in 1824, when she felt the call to go as a missionary to the "heathen." Her parents gave her what was considered in that day a very good education for a woman. According to one unverified report, she attended Miss Willard's Seminary at Troy, New York; the exact time is not known.⁶⁵

Franklin Academy opened a "female department" in the fall of 1827 under the direction of Miss Clarissa Thurston. In the term ending April 6, 1828, there were twenty-eight girls and thirty-four boys enrolled at the Academy, among the girls being Narcissa Prentiss.⁶⁶ There is no known record of her taking any further work at the Academy, or elsewhere, after April, 1828. Narcissa was then twenty years old.

Henry Spalding was not a student at the Academy when Narcissa attended in 1827-28, for his name does not appear among the names of the young men then enrolled. Since young women were not admitted before 1827, and since it does not appear that Narcissa returned after the spring of 1828, it seems evident that Henry Spalding and Narcissa Prentiss did not attend Franklin Academy at the same time. Certainly they worshiped in the same church, and perhaps taught at the same time in the same Sunday School.

Some writers, more concerned with romance than with history, have written about a love affair that Henry and Narcissa are supposed to have had. The basis for this romance is reported to have been laid in Prattsburg, and Henry is pictured as the rejected suitor.⁶⁷ One writer states: "It is probably true that Mr. Spaulding had

⁶⁴ *Whitman College Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 20.

⁶⁵ Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 24.

⁶⁶ *Prattsburg Advertiser*, July 20, 1928.

⁶⁷ Marshall, *Acquisition of Oregon*, Vol. 2, p. 34.

on many occasions sought the hand of Miss Prentiss, but had as many times been refused."⁶⁸ The fullest development of this fanciful romance is to be found in Morrow's *We Must March*, which sets forth a most distorted picture of both Mr. and Mrs. Spalding, and is grossly unfair to all characters concerned.⁶⁹ Henry Spalding was never engaged to Narcissa Prentiss, nor is there any evidence that he ever wanted to be. The fact is that while he is supposed to have sought the hand of Narcissa Prentiss he was engaged to another girl at Prattsburg.

A BROKEN ENGAGEMENT

Wakeman tells of Spalding's broken engagement in the following account:

Mr. Spaulding was affianced to an eminently devoted young lady some time before he completed his studies; one who had cultivated a missionary spirit and was familiarly acquainted with the missionary enterprise; so far as one could be at that early stage of the work. Her heart was in it and had been for years, hence she was a bright and shining light in the church, and her influence with others sustained an efficient missionary organization. Her ardent desire to spend her life among the heathen removed all barriers and difficulties so that she anticipated a bright, full orb'd day when she should be permitted to enter upon the work. But man proposes and God disposes. Before Mr. Spaulding had completed his course of study his affianced bride went into a rapid decline, and her disease was such that it was evident she would never be able to enter a foreign field. Thus a dark cloud overshadowed them and blighted their cherished hopes. That was a sad event when uncontrollable circumstances compelled them mutually to dissolve their agreement.⁷⁰

Wakeman does not here mention the name of the young lady. A Prattsburg tradition identifies her as Levina Linsley.⁷¹ The Prattsburg church roll shows that a girl by this name united with the church July 23, 1820.

⁶⁸ Cannon, *Wailatpu*, p. 9.

⁶⁹ The only documentary proof that can be given of this supposed love affair is an ambiguous statement in a letter of Narcissa Whitman, dated Oct. 10, 1840. *Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association* (hereafter referred to as *T.O.P.A.*), 1893, p. 128. This letter will be considered in its proper place.

⁷⁰ *Prattsburg News*, Aug. 17, 1893.

⁷¹ Died, Dec. 21, 1838. Age 40. The church record spells her name Lovina.

It is reported that Miss Linsley broke the engagement "on account of T. B.," and that she urged Spalding to marry another who would be able to stand the hardships of a missionary's wife.⁷² These facts, herein made public for the first time, should settle once for all the error of the theory that Henry was ever in love with Narcissa.

ELIZA HART

Wakeman, in the same article above mentioned, gives the following account of what happened to Spalding after his engagement to Levina Linsley was broken:

Now what follows in Mr. Spaulding's history is more like a bit of romance than reality. A few weeks after the engagement was given up, he called one evening into Mr. Orman Jackson's whose house stood on the lot where Mr. Van Tuyl's house now stands and related to Mrs. Jackson the circumstances of his disappointment. After some conversation he said, "Now where can I find a suitable person who will be willing to accompany me to a foreign field and devote her life to educate the heathen?" Mrs. Jackson replied, "I know a young lady who desires to be a missionary. She is a devoted Christian and well qualified for the work." After questions and answers pro and con, Mrs. Jackson consented to write to her and open the way for a mutual correspondence. A favorable answer from the lady opened the way and after about one year's correspondence, if I remember correctly, Mr. Spaulding went out to Holland Patent, Oneida county, and married a lady he had never seen.

Wakeman was mistaken about Spalding's getting married at that time to "a lady he had never seen." The young lady in question was Miss Eliza Hart, the daughter of Captain Levi and Martha Hart of Holland Patent, which was about one hundred and forty miles east of Prattsburg.

The Hart family, like the Spalding and Prentiss families, belonged to pioneer American stock. Stephen Hart, who came to this country about 1652, was born in Essex County, England, about 1605. He settled at Cambridge and became a deacon in the Cambridge church, undoubtedly the same which Henry Prentiss, an ancestor of Narcissa, attended. Eliza Hart's ancestry descends from Stephen Hart through both John Hart, the eldest son,

⁷² Letter from a descendant of a member of the Linsley family in my possession.—C.M.D.

and through Thomas Hart, the third son. The former was the ancestor of her father, and the latter the ancestor of her mother. Levi Hart was born at Kensington, Connecticut, later called Berlin, on August 24, 1765. Martha Hart was born in 1772.⁷³

Levi and Martha, after their marriage, made their home at Kensington for a time, where on August 11, 1807, their daughter Eliza was born.⁷⁴ Eliza had two sisters, Lorena and Caroline, and three brothers, Zenas, Cyrus, and Horace. In 1820, when Eliza was thirteen years old, her parents moved to a farm a couple of miles from Holland Patent, Oneida County, New York, where they remained until they died. Her father somehow secured the title of "Captain," perhaps through service in the state militia. Gray described him as "a plain substantial farmer."⁷⁵ Eliza was taught all the arts of a farmer's household, such as spinning, weaving, and candle-making.

Very little is known about her early youth and education. She is reported to have attended a young women's seminary at Clinton, New York, and was for a time engaged in teaching.⁷⁶ In 1813, the Clinton Grammar School was founded after the Hamilton Oneida Academy had become Hamilton College. This new Academy added a "female department" in 1817, the first principal of which was Miss Mary Hayes. Records indicate that the principals frequently changed. For a time two sisters, Misses Anna and Mary Chipman, were teachers and perhaps principals.⁷⁷ The exact dates of their connection are not known. However, it was during this time that Eliza attended the Academy, according to a family tradition.⁷⁸ Since Clinton was about twenty miles from

⁷³ Andrews, *History Hart Family*.

⁷⁴ Eells, *T.O.P.A.*, 1897, p. 107, states that she was born July 11, 1807. Her tombstone and other records give the August date.

⁷⁵ Gray, *Oregon*, p. 109.

⁷⁶ Hayden, *American Heroes*, pp. 143-230. See article by F. F. Ellinwood, D.D., once a Secretary of the Presb. For. Board, and a distant cousin of Eliza Hart's.

⁷⁷ *History of Oneida County*, pp. 221-23.

⁷⁸ Letter from Mrs. Geo. Woolsey, New York City, and a dis-

Eliza's home, its proximity gives additional reason for believing that this was the school which Eliza attended.

Eliza was of a serious turn of mind and deeply religious. On August 15, 1826, when nineteen years old, she appeared before the session of the Presbyterian Church of Holland Patent with the request that she be received into the membership of the church on her confession of faith. She then assented to the covenant of the church and the articles of faith. On Sunday, August 20, her name, with the others who were joining at the same time, was "propounded" before the church. Two weeks later she was officially received. It is reported that Eliza felt it her duty to distribute religious tracts, even if ridiculed for it by some of her associates.⁷⁹

William H. Gray, who first saw Eliza in the spring of 1836, described her in the following words:

She was above the medium height, slender in form, with coarse features, dark brown hair, blue eyes, rather dark complexion, coarse voice, of a serious turn of mind, and quick in understanding language.⁸⁰

Sometime during the year 1830, when Eliza was about twenty-three, she received a letter from her friend, Mrs. Jackson, who then lived in Prattsburg, telling about a fine young man by the name of Henry Spalding, who wanted to correspond with a young lady. Eliza sent back a favorable reply, and for about a year the two carried on a correspondence. They found they had much in common, especially along religious lines. Their friendship thus begun, quickly ripened into love when the two met in the fall of 1831.

tant cousin of Eliza Hart's, to me. She wrote: "She was well educated. I think attended Chipman Seminary in Clinton, N. Y." —C.M.D.

⁷⁹ Hayden, *op. cit.*

⁸⁰ Gray, *Oregon*, p. 109.

N. B.—In 1853 Rev. Richard F. Cleveland, the father of Grover Cleveland, President of the United States 1885-1889 and 1893-1897, was pastor of the Holland Patent Presbyterian Church. Rev. Richard F. Cleveland died that year and is buried at Holland Patent.

CHAPTER TWO

COLLEGE AND SEMINARY DAYS

HENRY SPALDING completed the first two years of his college course at Franklin Academy in the summer of 1831. With the \$150.00 he had saved, and with the assurance that the American Education Society would continue its assistance,¹ Spalding felt that he could continue his work elsewhere that fall, so looked about for a suitable institution. Several factors induced him to think favorably of Hamilton College, at Clinton, Oneida County, New York.

Hamilton was the nearest institution offering the work he wanted. Several of Spalding's friends had attended that college or had other contacts with it. Judge Porter of Prattsburg once served as its principal, and had decided to send his son Robert there that fall. Two of the three principals of Franklin Academy, under whom Spalding had studied, namely Beardsley and Gookins, were graduates of that institution. Rev. George Rudd, pastor of the Prattsburg Church from 1830-35, was another graduate. These contacts alone would have sufficed to make the choice in Hamilton's favor, but, surely, there was still another reason. Eliza Hart lived at Holland Patent, about twenty miles from Clinton. The two had corresponded for about a year, and it was, therefore, natural that they should desire to see each other. No account remains of their first meeting, but judging from later developments, it was mutually pleasing.

Spalding was not happy at Hamilton, for he wrote of those days as follows in his Diary:

¹ The Records of the Western Reserve Branch of the Am. Ed. Soc. show that Spalding received the following amounts on the dates indicated: March 7, 1832—\$20; Aug. 23, 1832—\$18; Dec. 5, 1832—\$19; March 6, 1833—\$20; and Sept. 14, 1833—\$18. Altogether he received \$95.00 during his two years at Western Reserve. Information by courtesy of F. C. Waite, Cleveland.

The hostile spirit against Education students made it necessary for myself & some others receiving aid of Am. Ed. Soc. to change our relations. One classmate Luma Gilbert, a sophomore David Watson & myself repaired to Western Reserve Col. Hudson Ohio.

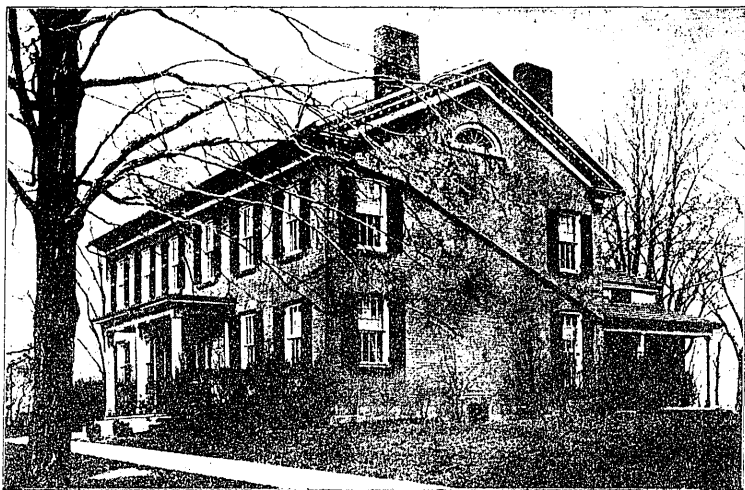
In all probability these students, finding conditions at Hamilton unsatisfactory, took their problem to Elias Cornelius, then secretary of the American Education Society. Cornelius was familiar with conditions at Western Reserve College, where other students receiving aid had gone with happy results. The president of Western Reserve at that time was Charles B. Storrs, who also served as a director of the Education Society. Undoubtedly Cornelius advised Spalding and his two friends to transfer.

En route to Hudson, Watson and Spalding took passage on a boat on Lake Erie. They met with a storm, the memory of which was vivid ten years later when Spalding wrote in his Diary of his narrow escape from a watery grave.

WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGE

Western Reserve College was still a pioneer institution when Spalding arrived in the fall of 1831. It had been established in the Connecticut Western Reserve of northeastern Ohio in 1826, at Hudson, a town some twenty-six miles southwest of Cleveland.² The college, along with the other institutions of higher learning of that period, had three terms. The winter term began October first or thereabouts. A two weeks' vacation came in January, after which the spring term began, usually the first part of February. Another vacation of from two to four weeks came in May, after which the summer term began and continued until about the first of September. The month of September was usually a vacation month. It is evident that Spalding and his companions reached Hudson soon after the winter term had begun.

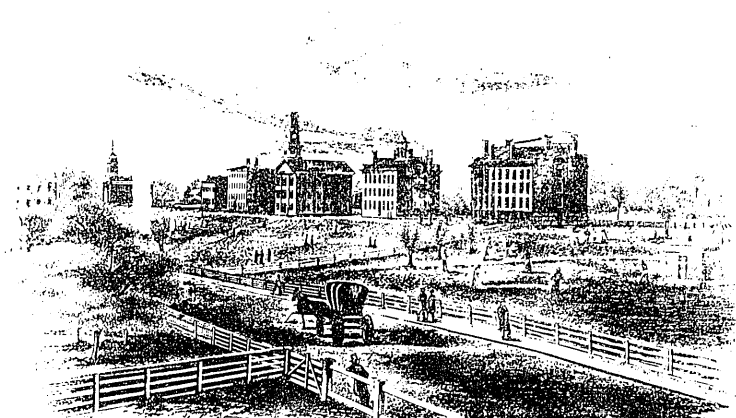
² The college was moved to Cleveland in 1882, and the name changed to Adelbert College. In 1884 Western Reserve University was organized with Adelbert College as the undergraduate college for men. Western Reserve Academy now occupies the old campus at Hudson.



PRESIDENT'S HOUSE.

Western Reserve College, Hudson, Ohio. The only building now standing which was there when H. H. Spalding was a student. The house was built in 1830 for the President and the Professor of Theology. President Storrs had his office and study in the lower front room to the left. The building is now being used as a residence by faculty members of Western Reserve Academy.

Courtesy Western Reserve Academy.



WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGE ABOUT 1848.

Only three of these buildings were on the campus when Spalding was a student at Western Reserve. These were Middle College (1826), the President's house (1830), and South College (1830). South College, which contained the chapel in which Henry and Eliza were married, is the building immediately to the left of the chapel, which has the tower.

The chapel was built in 1835-36.

Courtesy Dr. F. C. Waite of Cleveland, Ohio.

When Spalding arrived, the faculty at Western Reserve consisted of President Charles B. Storrs, Professors Beriah Green, Rufus Nutting, and Elizur Wright, Jr., and Tutors Charles M. Preston, and Clement Long. The faculty was made up of highly capable men.³ Elizur Wright was an eminent mathematician, who was then much interested in what is now called Meteorology. Under his instruction Spalding learned to use the sextant and the importance of keeping records of weather conditions. Wright,⁴ Nutting, and Long were members of Phi Beta Kappa.

In the fall of 1831 the College had the following buildings: Middle College, erected 1826; South College, and the President's house, erected 1830. Until the chapel was built in 1836, the first floor of South College was used for a chapel. The college campus was about a third of a mile from the business section of the town, known as the "Center."

Among his college mates at Western Reserve, Spalding found Dudley Allen, son of Dr. Peter Allen of Kinsman, Ohio, one of the best known of the pioneer physicians of the Western Reserve. Dudley Allen was a senior, therefore one year ahead of Henry Spalding. A friendship was begun that year between these two which continued until death separated them. That year there were eleven members of the junior class, including Henry Spalding.

All indications are that Spalding found congenial friends at Hudson, and enjoyed his two years of college work taken in Western Reserve.⁵ The fact that the Prattsburg church granted a letter of dismissal on June 16, 1832, in order that he might unite with the church in Western Reserve College, of which Professor Beriah Green served as pastor, leads us to believe that Spalding found the church life helpful to him. After he had com-

³ All of the members of the faculty except Wright were clergymen.

⁴ Wright later became the "Father of American Life Insurance."

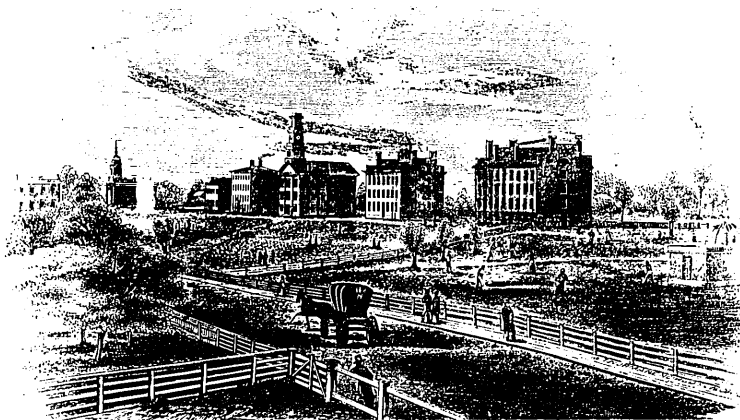
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pleted the college course, his church letter was sent back to the Prattsburg church and was there received on December 18, 1833. Possibly Spalding was then dreaming of returning to Bath Presbytery, to which the Prattsburg church belonged, for his ordination.

LIFE AS A STUDENT

Western Reserve College had adopted the plan of making its students work in the college shops at least two hours a day. Here the students made barrels, built furniture, and ran some printing presses. The purpose of the shops was to give the students a chance to earn money, to give them exercise, and to teach them a trade. The college paid about six and a fourth cents an hour. The amount seems small when compared with present-day prices, yet board cost but seventy-five cents a week and room rent was but four dollars a year. Thus a boy working two hours a day in the shop could earn almost enough to pay his board bill, and he could work more than the required two hours if he wished. Tuition amounted to thirty dollars a year.

Years later, when Spalding found himself a missionary in Oregon, he blessed the day that had sent him to a manual-work school, for he found on the mission field that he needed all of the skill he had acquired in the shops.

HENRY AND ELIZA

Both Henry and Eliza were disappointed over the turn of events which had separated them by so many miles after they had planned on being near to each other. During the vacation month of September, 1832, Spalding returned to Prattsburg, "and traveled as far East as Utica."⁶ This is very significant. Utica was the point where Spalding would have left the canal boat to go to Holland Patent. It was the county seat of Oneida County.

The friendship, started by correspondence, stimulated by a visit the year before, now ripened into love. Both were of a like mind in matters religious, and especially

⁶ Spalding Diary.

in their interests in foreign missions. During this second visit to the Hart home, it appears that Spalding proposed marriage and that he was accepted. He dutifully appeared before her parents and secured their consent. They also secured the consent of Captain and Mrs. Hart to the plan of having Eliza go to Hudson that fall and spend the year there, perhaps attending one of the two select girls' schools which were there.⁷ One of these schools was under the care of Mrs. Rufus Nutting, the wife of Professor Nutting. We do not know what arguments were used or what favorable factors were involved—this we do know: Eliza Hart was in Hudson when Spalding was attending his senior year at Western Reserve.

A year later, in a letter from Hudson, Ohio, Eliza wrote to her parents:

I presume you do not question the object which induced me to break away from your fond embrace and consent to accompany a stranger, to a land of strangers. If I am not deceived respecting the motive which led me to take this step it was to seek those qualifications which are requisite in order to become prepared for usefulness in the service of my Redeeming Lord.⁸

Thus it happened that instead of Spalding's going to Clinton in order to be near Eliza, Eliza went to Hudson in order to be near Henry.

ABOLITION AGITATION

Considerable controversy was carried on at Western Reserve College over the abolition question during the school year 1832-33. The Rev. Beriah Green, Professor of Sacred Literature, and Professor Elizur Wright were leaders in the cause of abolition. During the months of November and December, 1832, Green preached a series of four sermons in the college church in which he strongly advocated abolition. He inferred that no man could be a Christian unless he were an abolitionist. This

⁷ Perhaps Eliza had relatives in Hudson. The cemetery there has a tombstone for Catherine D., wife of Hiram Hart, died Sept. 30, 1817. Aged 30.

⁸ See Appendix, No. 1, for list of Spalding correspondence. Hereafter letters listed will be referred to by number, as "Spalding letter No. 1."

series of sermons marked the beginning of a controversy which greatly disturbed the peace and effectiveness of the college. Green was obliged to leave in July, 1833. He went from Hudson to Whitesborough, Oneida County, where he became president of the Oneida Institute of Science and Industry. His devotion to the abolition cause rather than to education was the major reason why that Institute rapidly declined and shortly passed out of existence.

In the letter from Henry Spalding to the parents of Eliza, written in September, 1833, he wrote:

I wish you to state the course, if you can learn, Prof. Green has taken since he has been at Whitesborough, and whether he is popular in the community. His abolition has about ruined this college. It was the cause of his being dismissed from this institution. I hope it will never be admitted into your institution. However, we hope decided measures are now taking by the trustees to put a stop to its raging. All the professors have been dismissed but one, and he is a friend of colonization.⁹

As early as 1812, the idea had been advanced of sending all negroes, who had secured their freedom, back to Africa. They who advocated this plan, were called colonizationists. The plan secured large support until the abolitionist doctrine was advanced, which called for immediate freeing of the slaves rather than the slow and gradual method advocated by the colonizationists. Spalding was in favor of colonization.

SPALDING IS GRADUATED

The graduation ceremony, in which Henry Spalding took part on August 28, 1833, was one of the most eventful in the history of Western Reserve College. The program itself was held in the village church and lasted all day. Each of the seven graduates of the college who that day received his A.B. degree delivered an oration, one being in Latin and another in Greek.¹⁰ All classes of both the college and the preparatory department, as

⁹ Spalding letter No. 1.

¹⁰ Spalding's diploma now hangs in the museum at Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. His name is there spelt with the "u."

well as the two literary societies, were represented on the program. There was a dialogue on temperance, a colloquy on abolition, and a play of three scenes. Interspersed between these numbers were musical selections.

The abolition controversy came to a focus that day when Professor Wright appeared in the academic procession walking arm in arm with a negro barber from Pittsburgh. Many refused to enter the church after Wright and his "nigger" had gone in. Wright was persuaded not to take the negro back to the afternoon service. The colloquy on abolition, delivered by Milton Sutliff,¹¹ was very offensive to some of the prominent local residents. That noon the trustees called a hurried meeting and threatened to withhold Sutliff's degree. Wright then claimed full responsibility, and a few hours later handed in his resignation in order to avoid the ignominy of being dismissed. Soon after, Wright left Hudson and threw his whole soul into the abolition movement, becoming second only to William Lloyd Garrison in his influence in its behalf.

Spalding's turn came just before the degrees were conferred. He took for his subject: "Claims of the Heathen on the American Churches," which reminds us of the subject matter of the tract written by Newell and Hall which led Spalding to decide for the foreign mission field. It is estimated that more than two hundred people from outside of Hudson attended the all-day session. The student body in Spalding's senior year numbered ninety-four, most of whom, if not all, were also present.¹² In all probability, the other graduates had fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters present for the auspicious occasion. But when Henry Spalding received his degree, there was not a single blood relative in the audience to share his joy with him. There was only one present who really cared—and that was Eliza.

¹¹ Sutliff was the only member of the graduating class who did not enter the ministry. He became Chief Justice of the Ohio Supreme Court in 1863.

¹² I am indebted to Dr. F. C. Waite of Western Reserve University for information relating to these events. He also sent a copy of the commencement program.—C.M.D.

HENRY AND ELIZA ARE MARRIED

Upon graduation from college, Spalding found himself ready for seminary. He decided upon Lane Theological Seminary at Cincinnati, over which the famed Lyman Beecher then presided. Western Reserve College had had many cordial relationships with the seminary, so it was natural for Henry to decide on Lane for his seminary course. The winter term at the seminary began the first part of November.

The prospect of leaving Eliza at Hudson or of having her return to Holland Patent was not pleasing to Henry. The year of happy fellowship that they enjoyed at Hudson had deepened their love for one another. During the first part of the September vacation of 1833 they were much in each other's company. Henry wrote to her parents, saying that he was tutoring her in algebra and astronomy and that she was reciting daily to him.¹³ Astronomy! How modern! Young people in love studying the stars!

According to their original plans, marriage was to have been deferred until Henry had completed his theological course. Henry and Eliza talked over their mutual desires out under the stars and decided that it was best for them to get married. Thus Eliza could accompany Henry to Lane and take the same subjects. At least this is the excuse for their marriage that Spalding gave to the American Board in his letter of August 7, 1835, when he wrote that they got married "for the express purpose of giving my wife the opportunity of pursuing the same theological studies with myself."¹⁴

They decided that it was best to explain the situation to Eliza's parents and seek their consent for an immediate marriage in Hudson. Henry took one of his large double-page foolscap letter sheets and wrote the first page full on both sides. He then took it to Eliza to read, and this is part of what she read:

Much Respected Friends. . . .

Permit me to observe, however, in the first place, that my an-

¹³ Spalding letter No. 1.

¹⁴ Spalding letter No. 3.

ticipations in relation to Sister Eliza have been more than realized. I find her to be all and more than many friends had expressed. Truly she is worthy the best of companions. I tremble when I think of that day when that union shall take place, by your consent and the favour of a kind Providence, which we now presume to contemplate. I know I am not worthy to become her companion. I feel, that should I be favoured with her hand, I receive that for which she will not find in her unworthy brother, an equivalent. But should the pledge which we have mutually given be redeemed, and we become united in that sacred, solemn obligation of the marriage covenant, God grant I may be to her all that an affectionate, faithful companion should be, and that her beloved and venerable parents may never have to regret that those tender parental cords which have long bound their beloved one to their bosom, though it be at the expense of tears and grief for a season, have been as it were, loosed, that she may become united in others if possible, still more sacred and inviolate.

After giving expression to these beautiful sentiments in this involved style, Spalding came to the real point of the letter:

The object of our writing now, is to inquire, should you consent to the contemplated union, are you willing that it should take place here this fall without returning to Trenton? I feel it to be a delicate question, and one—requiring more, perhaps, than you can feel willing to grant, and probably more than we can in justice ask. This ceremony should be celebrated in a father's house. When we left you we both thought it not best to marry soon. We now feel different for several reasons. We have become convinced that it will not at all retard our studies. We can be pleasantly situated at Cincinnati and I can pursue my studies in connection with the Seminary and Sister in connection with a ladies' school, or should she think best, recite daily to me as she now does during this vacation.

Spalding then explained that it would be expensive for the two to return to Trenton for the wedding—this cost was estimated at forty dollars each for the round trip. Moreover, the fall term at the Seminary was scheduled to begin within six weeks. Spalding continued:

We, therefore, humbly request you to take into consideration existing circumstances and, if you can, consistent with your feelings and views grant our request, the favour, I hope will be appreciated by

Your affectionate and unworthy servant
H. H. Spalding

Eliza found the letter satisfactory. She then took her pen and with a different ink, wrote:

I trust, dear parents, that you will not hesitate to grant the request Mr. Spalding has now made although you have had but slight personal acquaintance with him. I am happy to inform you that I have found in him a kind and affectionate friend, one in whose society I should consider it a high privilege to spend the days of my earthly pilgrimage.

And then Spalding added a postscript with the same ink that Eliza used:

Please write immediately that we may know what course to take. The term commences at Cincinnati in about six weeks. . . . The health of both Sister Eliza and myself is good.¹⁵

Henry and Eliza mailed this letter on September 14, 1833. Her parents received it about the 24th. Evidently a prompt and favorable answer was returned, for on Sunday evening, October 13, Henry Spalding and Eliza Hart were married in the chapel in South College following the evening service. Rev. Giles Doolittle,¹⁶ pastor of the village church (Congregational), performed the service. In all probability Spalding had favorable relationships with Doolittle when the abolition controversy reached its height. The colonizationists refused to attend the college chapel to listen to Green, and attended the village church. At the time of the wedding, the college church was without a pastor. President Storrs had died on September 15, 1833. Green and Wright had gone. Nutting was in the East looking for teachers. John Frederick Scovill, a graduate of the preparatory department of Western Reserve when Spalding received his degree,

¹⁵ Spalding letter No. 1. In the summer of 1934, I secured eight Spalding letters (Nos. 1, 2, 13, 35, 36, 52, and one written from "Calapooia" Aug. 5, 1850, by Mrs. Spalding), which are now in the possession of the Presbyterian Historical Society. Only brief extracts have ever been printed. The letters are invaluable for the information they contain on some previously obscure years of Spalding's life.

¹⁶ Rev. Giles Doolittle lies buried in the cemetery at Hudson near the grave of Owen Brown the father of John Brown of Harper's Ferry fame.

Especially to those of us, who expect, if our lives should
be spared, to enter the field of labour in foreign lands.
In the forenoon attended meeting at the ^{Regulation} Centre Lodge.
Sermon from Rev. Wm. Doak. The text was in Genesis
21 Chap. 9 verse. "be labour faithfully to pervert men, by the
terrors of the Lord to repent of their sins. In the afternoon
the text was in Genesis 7. "Come thou and all the house into
the ark." The object of this discourse was to show, that the sin-
ners, who live before the Lord, are not any wiser, than those who live before the
flood, because they would not listen unto the admonition
of Noah, but still persisted in their own wicked ways;
but we have reason to fear, that the guilt of those who go down
to destruction will be much greater, because they sin against
greater light. In the evening attended meeting in the College
Chapel a sermon from Mr. Doak. The text in Romans 12:2
"Thou art a very excellent workman; nevertheless thou shalt not think more highly
of ourselves than we ought to think, after service Mr. Doak -
470. 11

"stood up" with the bridal couple. Years later he became the pastor of Eliza's home church at Holland Patent.¹⁷

Spalding had a poor memory for figures. When he filled out the questionnaire in 1840, required by the American Board, he made three mistakes. He gave the wrong date for his birth, the wrong month and year for the time he joined the church, and the wrong date for his marriage. He said he was married on October 12, 1833.¹⁸ October 12 fell on a Saturday. Marriages on a Sunday evening were common in those days, especially in pioneer communities. An audience was already at hand! Sometimes the minister preached an additional sermon to the bride and groom as they stood before the pulpit, and there is a record of a couple standing there for two hours for a sermon, at the end of which the bride fainted. When we recall the religious convictions which both Henry and Eliza cherished, we can believe that they would not go contrary to the accepted custom among Christians and get married on a Saturday. Fortunately more evidence is at hand.

Shortly before the wedding took place, there arrived at Western Reserve College, a twenty-two-year-old youth by the name of John Buss, who entered the preparatory department in October, 1833. His purpose was to enter the ministry. This fact was sufficient to introduce him at once to a group of which Spalding was a member. Buss kept a diary, and under date of October 13, 1833, he wrote:

Sabbath morning. It is a pleasant place for Christians to be in the little praying circles on the Holy Sabbath supplicating at the throne of grace for mercy to rest upon their fellow men.

This prayer meeting was held at 9:00 a. m. in the college chapel. Buss reports that they had an interesting time.

¹⁷ Lorena Hart to Mrs. Spalding, Nov. 1, 1843. "Our present minister is Mr. Scovill he said I mite tell you that it was Mr. Scovill that stood up with you, when you was married." Coll. W.

¹⁸ Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 317, in his brief biographical sketch gives the date as Oct. 12th. That date has never before been questioned.

Brother Spalding was with us for the last time, he admonish us, to prepare to meet him on the shores of China, if our lives should be spared, and to spend our lives in the cause of Christ, labouring on heathen ground, the meeting was very solemn, and interesting especially to those of us, who expect, if our lives should be spared to enter the field of labour in foreign lands.

In the forenoon John attended another religious service and heard a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Doolittle, at which time, according to John, "he labour faithfully to perswade men, by the terrors of the Lord to repent of their sins." Again in the afternoon Mr. Doolittle preached, taking for his text Genesis 7:1: "Come thou and all thy house into the ark." In the evening John attended his fourth religious service of the day by going to the college chapel where Mr. Doolittle preached for the third time, using Romans 12:3 for his text. John wrote:

It was a very excellent sermon; "we ought not to think more highly of ourselves than we ought to think; after service Mr. Henry H Spaulding was married to Miss Eliza Hart these two dearly beloved friends intend if their lives are spared to spend & be spent in the work of foreign missions."¹⁹

The case against Spalding's memory is complete, for one contemporary document is worth a thousand reminiscences, even though these be about one's own wedding date. So Henry Spalding and Eliza Hart were married Sunday evening, October 13, 1833. He was then nearly thirty years old, and she was twenty-six.

LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

As the country west of the Alleghenies became more thickly settled, the Presbyterians became concerned about the establishment of a theological seminary west of the mountains. Two sites were proposed, Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. In 1827 Western Theological Seminary was established at Alleghenytown, opposite Pittsburgh. Two years later, or on September 27, 1829, the friends and supporters of the western site established Lane Theo-

¹⁹ A copy of this diary is on file at Western Reserve University. It was brought to my attention by the kindness of Dr. Waite.—C.M.D.

logical Seminary at Walnut Hills, about five miles from Cincinnati.²⁰

Lane Seminary began first with a literary department, or a college of arts, with manual labor as a leading feature. This department was discontinued in 1834. On December 26, 1832, Lyman Beecher and Thomas J. Biggs were inducted into professorships in the theological subjects, and in July, 1833, Calvin E. Stowe was inducted into another theological professorship. In the school year 1832-33 Dr. Beecher and Dr. Biggs gave some work in theology. The first theological class began in November, 1833, and in this class Henry Spalding was enrolled. The class numbered forty-two men, and was proudly described by Spalding as the "largest Junior Theological Class in America."²¹

The year 1833-34 at Lane Seminary was marked by a similar controversy over the relative merits of abolition and colonization that had so disturbed Spalding's last year at Western Reserve. On February 4, 1834, the faculty of the seminary received a communication from a group of students inviting them to participate in a joint discussion of the issue. This the faculty declined to do and gave among their reasons the following:

The example of a kindred institution in this state being greatly depressed by the introduction of this subject should warn us to let alone the contention before it is meddled with.²²

The reference here is very clearly to the difficulties that Western Reserve College had experienced the previous school year. The students renewed their invitation and again the faculty declined. The students then began their discussions, which continued for seventeen successive evenings, and ended in resolutions being passed

²⁰ It was named after the Lane Brothers, merchants of New Orleans, but natives of New England, who gave liberally to the institution.

²¹ Spalding letter No. 2. The General Catalog of the seminary does not list a theological class for 1833-34. The discovery of the 4th annual report of the seminary, issued in November, 1833, gives positive proof that the general catalog is in error. Spalding had two years of theological work at Lane.

²² See "Statement of Faculty concerning the late difficulties in the Lane seminary," p. 35, at Western Reserve Historical Society.

against colonization and for abolition. A group of the students formed themselves into an abolition society.

Members of the abolition society decided to be absolutely consistent and to treat the negro as their social equal. Some changed their boarding places and went to live with negro families; others walked arm in arm publicly on the streets with negroes; negro men and women were invited to dine at the students' boarding club; and negro mission schools were started. Since Cincinnati was settled primarily from Virginia, many of the inhabitants were descendants of southern families. Moreover, the main commercial relationships of Cincinnati were with the South. The endeavor of the students to put the negro on a plane of full social equality with the whites created a public uproar. The good people of Cincinnati were shocked.

Public pressure was brought to bear upon the trustees, with the result that they ordered the abolition society to disband. This was done. The turmoil continued to the end of the term in August, when fourteen of the dissenters went to Oberlin, which started its theological department in the spring of 1835. Spalding, being a colonizationist, was not in sympathy with the group in the abolition society and was, therefore, unaffected by the faculty action.

Lane Seminary took a fresh start in November, 1834, with an enrollment of thirty-six, nineteen of whom were theological students, among them being Henry Spalding.²³ Two of his classmates were Henry Ward Beecher and Charles Beecher, sons of Lyman Beecher. It was Spalding's lot, therefore, to have his studies of two school years in two different institutions disrupted over the abolition issue.

SEMINARY DAYS

Cincinnati was about three hundred miles from Hudson, Ohio. Following their marriage on October 13,

²³ A comparison of the enrollment lists of Lane Seminary for 1833-34 and 1834-35 shows that four students remained. They were Hiram Babcock, Alexander Duncan, Samuel Paine, and Henry H. Spalding.

Henry and Eliza probably took the usual route of travel by going down the Ohio Canal, opened in 1832, to Portsmouth, and then down the Ohio River to Cincinnati.

Marriage had complicated Spalding's financial situation. Beginning with 1829 and continuing each year until he was married, Spalding had received aid from the American Educational Society. But when he was married, such assistance was discontinued. Church Boards of Education still operate on the principle that a ministerial student who has been getting aid and who feels rich enough to get married no longer needs their assistance. So Spalding had to be self-supporting at Lane.

At Walnut Hills, the Spaldings rented a house, and Henry bought a cow. Eliza had been reared in a farmer's home and was efficient in the arts of housekeeping. She gladly came to her husband's assistance and took six students into her home for both board and room, in addition to renting out a room to a married student and his wife. The students paid \$3.00 a week each for board and room. It seems that the Seminary, as a part of its manual labor work, had six presses. These students who lived with the Spaldings "rolled for the presses." Business conditions did not warrant keeping all of the presses going, with the result that three of the boys had to leave.

Eliza set forth good plain fare but without tea, coffee, or sweet cakes.²⁴ The cow furnished all the milk and butter they needed. Spalding secured work in the printing establishment and gained additional experience which proved of the utmost value to him in later years. After they lost three of their boarders, Eliza wanted to supplement the income by spending some time each day teaching school. Henry would not listen to it.

On March 31, 1834, Eliza wrote to her sister Lorena, to which letter Henry added a postscript on April 3.²⁵ Regarding Eliza's plan to teach, Henry wrote:

²⁴ This may have been in conformity with the crusade against tea and coffee which grew out of the temperance movement of that period. At Oberlin tea and coffee were proscribed for student use.

²⁵ Spalding letter No. 2.

Mrs. S. is inclined to teach this season. Our circumstances do not demand it. She thinks she can be doing more good, and at the same time pursue, her regular studies. You may suppose, and justly, that much of her time is taken up in her domestic concerns. She does much work in a short time, as probably you already know.

This letter is replete with items of interest and gives us an intimate view of the life they led at Walnut Hills. In spite of their limited income, she proudly wrote of her husband's ability to provide everything that was essential "to make our circumstances comfortable and pleasant." No matter how humble those circumstances were in later years, Eliza never complained. Never once in all the available correspondence that she wrote from her home in Old Oregon is there a hint of dissatisfaction. The feeling that she expressed in this letter of March 31, 1834, to her favorite and elder sister, Lorena, is indicative of her whole life's philosophy: "I am quite satisfied with my situation and with what little I possess."

Mrs. Spalding has been pictured as an ignorant woman of weak character.²⁶ Such is not the case. She had a keen mind, was well educated, and possessed to an unusual degree those characteristics which are most praiseworthy. She was not allowed by the rules of Western Reserve College to attend classes in that institution while living at Hudson. If she attended Mrs. Nutting's school there, she had the advantage of studying under several of the same faculty members that Henry had. Lane Seminary was more lenient. Women were allowed to attend the classes, and Eliza took such advantage of her opportunity as her household duties allowed. She wrote to Lorena:

I am now pursuing Greek and Hebrew studies. I take the same lessons that Mr. S. does in the Greek Testament, and in the Hebrew Bible. I am quite pleased with these studies, but find the Greek Grammar rather perplexing. I generally attend Dr. Beecher's lectures on Theology, Saturdays, from the hours of ten to twelve, which are very interesting and profitable.

²⁶ Morrow, *We Must March*, is especially false in the distorted view it gives of Mrs. Spalding.

The fact that Henry was married and lived in his own home, away from the dissension found in the students' boarding places, probably accounted for his remaining at Lane the second year. Then, too, Eliza always exercised a calming effect on her husband. Out of the large junior class of 1833, which numbered forty-two, only four returned the next year, and Henry was one of the four.

The Spalding home at Walnut Hills was the center for those students who planned to devote their lives to the foreign mission cause. Once a week on Friday evenings, five students and another, a "female," who was the "intended of one of this little number," gathered there for prayer. Eliza belonged to a sewing club which met once a week, and also to a "female" missionary society which met monthly. Eliza had as deep and as abiding an interest in foreign missions, which then included the Indians in America, as did her husband. "What object can we engage in that will compare with the cause of missions . . . ?" she asked her sister, and then declared: "For this object I wish to exert my powers and spend my strength." She dwells upon this idea in her letter at some length:

The wants and woes of the heathen, have too long been neglected by Christian nations, who have not only the Saviour's command binding upon them, to go and proclaim His gospel to all nations, but are furnished with ample means for the mighty work. When I reflect upon the wretched condition of those benighted souls who are sitting in the gloom and shadow of death, I actually long to depart and be with them, to tell them the story of a Saviour's dying love.

Eliza expressed a concern for the members of her family who "are yet a stranger to the love of Jesus," and to them she addressed the solemn inquiry: "When will you be wise? How long ere you will seek that righteousness which the Saviour has commanded you to seek first of all things? . . . How long, then, can you rest satisfied to live without God and without hope in this dying world?" This sort of exhortation is to be found in most of Eliza's letters home and reveals her anxious heart regarding the spiritual condition of her parents and of some of her brothers and sisters.

THEY DECIDE TO GO TO THE INDIANS

While students at Lane, the Spaldings "purchased a small but valuable library, worth say \$150. dollars, & were enabled to give some \$30 dollars a year to benevolent purposes."²⁷ Their gift to the American Board was large enough to secure for them a subscription to the *Missionary Herald*, the official publication of the Board. The *Herald* at that time carried the accounts of the progress of the missionaries in their respective fields of labor among the thirteen Indian tribes of America and the various countries of the world. Long extracts of the letters were printed and are intensely interesting, even to present-day readers. After reading their copies, the Spaldings sent them back to her home at Trenton with the request that they be saved.

In the spring of 1833, the *New York Christian Advocate* printed a letter from William Walker which told of the visit four Indians from west of the Rocky Mountains had made to St. Louis in search of the white man's religion. The publication of that letter marked the beginning of the Oregon missions of the Methodist and of the American Boards. Spalding undoubtedly learned of that letter soon after it was published, and knew of the departure of Jason Lee and his companions under the Methodist Board in 1834 for Oregon. Since he was a reader of the *Missionary Herald*, he certainly knew of the departure of Samuel Parker and his associates that same spring for St. Louis. Parker returned and went out a second time in 1835 in company with Dr. Marcus Whitman of Wheeler.

In the fall of 1834, Dr. B. R. Wisner, one of the secretaries of the American Board, visited Lane Seminary. Spalding had a conference with him regarding a possible appointment as a missionary. Dr. Wisner secured information regarding Spalding's qualifications, including recommendations from the faculty.²⁸

In the spring of 1835, Mr. Artemas Bullard, agent of the newly organized Foreign Mission Society of the Pres-

²⁷ Spalding Diary.

²⁸ Spalding letter No. 3.

byterian Church, suggested to Spalding the possibility of taking a teaching position for Indians offered by the Government. Bullard suggested that Spalding make application for such a position in the Choctaw tribe. Spalding consulted with members of the Lane faculty and was advised to seek the appointment. It appears that he had then given up all thought of going to China.

In view of the possibility of getting a Government position, Spalding was advised not to enter into negotiations with the American Board, so the matter of his application with them was dropped for the time being. In April, 1835, Spalding received a letter from Mr. Bullard which contained such encouragement that he decided to leave school at the close of the spring term. He felt that a definite appointment had been assured him, and that under the circumstances he was warranted in dropping out of seminary before he was graduated. The faculty of the seminary concurred in his decision and gave him the following letter of recommendation:

This certifies that Henry H. Spaulding, a graduate of Hudson College Western Reserve, Ohio, and for 2 years a member of this institution, in good and regular standing, is now dismissed with a view of his being appointed a teacher among the.....tribe of Indians. To the character of Mr. Spaulding as a man of integrity, benevolence, ardent zeal, and devotion to the best interests of his fellowmen, we bear cordial testimony. He is to be accompanied by his wife Mrs..... in the same laudable enterprise, in whose qualifications for successful co-operation with him, we have entire confidence.²⁹

The letter was dated May 18, 1835, and was signed by Lyman Beecher, C. E. Stowe, and Th. J. Biggs. The date of the letter probably indicates the time that Henry and Eliza left Cincinnati to return to New York state to say farewell to their relatives and friends. Spalding had been able to save enough money to defray the expenses of the trip.

They went first to the Hart home, then at Trenton, New York.³⁰ It was Eliza's first visit to her home in

²⁹ Coll. W. The blanks are in the original.

³⁰ Both Holland Patent and Trenton, which are about six miles apart, are referred to as the home of the Hart family. It may be that they lived in between the towns, shopped in one place and used the other as their postal address.

three years. Henry had urged her to return in September of 1834, but her thrifty soul vetoed his plan. The Spaldings spent from four to six weeks in Trenton, daily expecting definite word from the Government regarding their appointment. As time passed without this coming, they became impatient and then worried for fear it would not come. While at Trenton, Captain Hart gave Henry and Eliza "a wagon, one horse & harness \$100 & some clothing" to equip them for their work.³¹ Little did they then dream of the future history of that wagon.

APPOINTED BY THE AMERICAN BOARD

In July the Spaldings went to Prattsburg to visit Henry's friends. Days and weeks passed without any definite word from the Government. To increase their fears, Spalding met with a Mr. Wright, who had served as a missionary among the Choctaws, who informed him that all of the government positions were probably filled. Spalding at once sat down and addressed a letter to the American Board on August 7, 1835. He wrote:

Fathers in the church of Christ I hereby signify my wish to be taken under your direction as an humble laborer with my companion, in any part of that portion of the vineyard of Christ over which the Lord has appointed you stewards, where your wisdom shall direct.

He related his disappointment in not receiving an appointment under the Government and told of the circumstances which led up to the renewal of his application with the American Board. He expressed his willingness to go to the Osages, then left without a missionary, but was willing to go "to any other Indian tribe or any other part of the world."³² A good example of the prejudice which many have against H. H. Spalding is to be found in Hulbert and Hulbert, *The Oregon Crusade*, where we can read the following:

The unbalanced character of Henry Spalding is intimated in the very first lines written, both by him and about him to the American Board.³³

³¹ Spalding letter No. 3.

³² Spalding letter No. 3.

³³ Hulbert and Hulbert, *The Oregon Crusade*, p. 211.

These authors make special mention of the phrase which Spalding used to describe himself, that is, "humble laborer."³⁴ Let us remember that this was the orthodox and pious language of the day. Spalding was both correct and proper in the choice of words that he used.

The Osage Indians were a tribe of the Dakota family. Marquette reported them in 1673 to be living along the Missouri River. Their enemies drove them south to the Arkansas River about 1700. About 1804, some of them migrated back to the Missouri. They then numbered about 6,300.³⁵ The American Board began its work among these Indians in 1820. One of its stations was called Boudinot.³⁶ The Osages were considered the most difficult of all the Indian tribes for missionary work. They were described as being "poor, dissipated, and wretched."³⁷ And yet it was to this tribe that Spalding offered to go. "I have thought it my duty," he wrote, "to spend my life among these injured men should the Board see fit to accept our imperfect services & direct us to this field."

Spalding, in this letter of August 7, 1835, to the Board, reviewed his qualifications. He wrote:

In the course of study sometimes I used the axe, sometimes the saw & sometimes the press. By this means & the aid above mentioned I met all my expenses, secured good health, and regained a firm constitution, & what is more importance God has given me a companion that knows how to "spin" even in these days, in my opinion well calculated for the work we presume to contemplate.

He also made reference to the approaching meeting of Bath Presbytery which was to be held at Big Flats, August 25. He stated that he needed another horse, some harness, and some money, and spoke of the possibility of driving overland to his appointment should they see fit to send him.

³⁴ Hulbert and Hulbert, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

³⁵ In 1870 their numbers were reduced to about 300. They went into the Indian Territory, where later oil was found on their land.

³⁶ In all probability it was named after Dr. Elias Boudinot, one-time president of the Am. Ed. Soc., and a member of the American Board.

³⁷ *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 33, p. 23.

Two letters of recommendation were sent in, one by his Prattsburg pastor, Rev. George Rudd, and the other by Artemas Bullard. Mr. Rudd wrote his letter on August 6, which also bore the signature of Rev. James H. Hotchkin, the former pastor of the Prattsburg church, then pastor at Wheeler. The following is an extract from their letter:

We have been acquainted with Mr. Spalding . . . from his childhood. He is about thirty-two years of age, possessor of a strong and vigorous constitution, has been inured to hardship from infancy, is a person of undoubted piety, has for years contemplated the duties of a foreign missionary.

Artemas Bullard wrote a very discerning letter, dated August 14, 1835. After mentioning the fact that he had known both Mr. and Mrs. Spalding for two years, he wrote:

I consider Mr. S. a man of ardent piety. His mental powers are not remarkable, though decent. He enjoys good health and has a good constitution. Few men are willing to labor more abundantly or endure more fatigue, or make greater sacrifices than he. During my acquaintance with him he has appeared anxious to embrace every opportunity to engage in active efforts to promote objects of Christian benevolence. I should think he preferred such employment to study. He can turn his hand to almost any kind of handy work. Is not remarkable for judgment and commonsense, though not particularly deficient. Is sometimes too much inclined to denounce or censure those who are not as zealous and ardent as himself. Perhaps this trait of character will not be exhibited after he leaves the peculiar society of the college and theological seminary. On the whole I expect, in his proper place he will make a good missionary. His wife is very highly respected and beloved by a large circle of friends on Walnut Hills and in Cincinnati. She is one of the best women for a missionary's wife with whom I am acquainted.⁸⁸

All bear witness to Spalding's "ardent piety" and zeal. Bullard frankly speaks of his inclination to denounce and censure those who were not as zealous as himself in the same cause, a tendency which did not disappear, as Mr. Bullard so fondly hoped. We find all speaking in the highest terms of Eliza.

⁸⁸ Letters of recommendation in Coll. A.

The Board answered Spalding's letter of the 7th on the 14th. Spalding was advised to attend the meeting of Presbytery and be ordained "as if you were appointed." The Prudential Committee, which was responsible for the appointments, would meet later, and then Spalding would be notified as to the result. He was told that he would probably be sent to the Osage Indians if and when appointed.³⁹

Spalding accordingly attended the Presbytery of Bath which met at Big Flats, Tioga County, August 25. He went as the elder representative from the Prattsburg church and was introduced to Presbytery by Mr. Rudd. Spalding told of his expectation of being appointed a missionary under the American Board, and requested to be taken under the care of Presbytery, licensed, and ordained all during the same meeting. This was an unusual procedure, for usually a year elapses in the Presbyterian Church between licensure and ordination. However, in view of the circumstances, the Presbytery acquiesced.

On Wednesday morning, August 26, Spalding and another candidate, Arthur Hicks, were examined in experimental religion. They were accepted as suitable candidates. A minute from the records of that meeting of Presbytery is as follows:

Mr. Spalding was examined in the Greek and Hebrew languages, on General Science, on Theology, Natural and Revealed, Church History, Church Government, and the Sacraments, which were sustained as parts of trial. Mr. Spalding read a Latin exegesis on the theme "*An Christus Jesus est verus Deus?*"—a critical exercise on Romans IX. 1-3—a lecture on Luke 12: 16-21 . . . and a popular sermon on II Corinthians V: 14-15, which were approved.⁴⁰

Such an examination took the morning. After lunch a communion service was held, followed by a sermon, and then Presbytery turned its attention to Mr. Spalding again. They voted to ordain him the next morning. Accordingly, on Thursday morning, August 27, Henry H. Spalding was ordained to the Gospel Ministry "by prayer.

³⁹ Copy in Coll. A.

⁴⁰ Minutes of the Presbytery of Bath.

and the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery." The Rev. B. Foster Pratt was the Moderator for that occasion, with Rev. George Rudd stated clerk. Rev. James H. Hotchkin preached the sermon.

DEPARTURE DELAYED

Upon Spalding's return to Prattsburg, he found a letter from the American Board dated August 18 awaiting him, which Spalding answered on August 31. Rev. David Greene, D.D., secretary in charge of Indian missions, had made inquiries regarding Spalding's outfit. In his reply, Spalding stated that the outfit was given by his father-in-law, "an impatient man (or rather impatient, more likely) under the expectation that we should go to the Chocktaws in the employ of the U S Gov." He added that the church at Prattsburg and friends would furnish all required goods except a part of the necessary traveling expense. He listed his possessions:

Clothing for several years, the lighter articles of furniture, & husbandry, mechanical tools, & sixty dollars in cash. Probably more but this is all that can be named at present.⁴¹

As to the time when they would be ready to start, Spalding referred to "circumstances of my family" which might necessitate delay until March, 1836. In the interval he proposed the following:

During this time I shall attend to the study of medicine as much as possible with a physician in this place, visit the churches in the Presbytery, take up collections & try by the grace of God to wake up an interest in the help of the poor Indians which I find greatly needed in the churches. I find the poor red man is almost forgotten even by the few who seem to care for the heathen. The collections made in clothing &c or money, unless otherwise directed by the contributors will be acknowledged in the Herald or subject to your order. As much as though received directly from you.

The cause for the delay is to be found in the fact that sometime during the month of October, 1835, Eliza gave birth to a stillborn baby girl. They called her Mary. Spalding wrote of this sorrow in his Diary as follows:

⁴¹ Spalding letter No. 4.

In Oct. the Lord most righteously chastised us for our sins in taking back the moment he was about to give us a little one. Mrs. S's sickness was protracted and severe but the Lord in infinite love restored her to health and in Dec. met our dear friends in Trenton once more and spent a few weeks most happily and perhaps not altogether useless previous to leaving in February.

Sometime during the fall the American Board sent definite word that he had been appointed to the Osage Indians. He was to be sent to Boudinot, in what is now western Missouri. Records in the *Missionary Herald* indicate that Spalding was as good as his word in regard to solicitation of money and goods for mission work. He was responsible for the following collections noted in the *Herald* for May, 1836:

Howard N. Y. 1st chh. rec'd by Mr. Spalding	7.00
Holland Patent, Chh and cong (& individuals)	28.35
Prattsburgh, N. Y. Chh and cong.	47.83
Wheeler, N. Y. Chh. and cong.	8.81
Kennedavil, N. Y. Female B. Soc.	7.00
Pulteney, ch. and cong.	7.37½
Donations in clothing, & c	
Holland Patent, N. Y. Sundries, fr. Capt. Hart for miss. to Flat Head Indians	120.00
Howard, N. Y. Clothing fr. 1st chh for do	2.75
Prattsburgh, N. Y., Clothing, fr. Chh. and cong for miss. to Flat Head Indians	20.00
Wheeler, N. Y. Clothing, for miss. to Flat Head In- dians	9.37
Kennedavil, N. Y. Clothing	2.00 ⁴²

The total value of cash and goods here reported amounts to \$260.48½. It is most interesting to note that the value of the goods given by Captain Hart was listed at \$120.00. This probably included the value of the horse and light wagon which Captain Hart gave to Henry and Eliza.

THE CALL TO OLD OREGON

About the first of December, Dr. Marcus Whitman returned from the Rocky Mountains, where he had gone on an exploring trip with Rev. Samuel Parker. He ar-

⁴² *Miss. Herald*, Vol. 32, pp. 195-6. See also Spalding letter No. 7, in which he makes his report.

rived with the thrilling story of the eagerness that the Flatheads and Nez Perces had shown for Christian missionaries. With him were two Nez Perce boys. Whitman's home had been at Wheeler before he left in the spring of 1835. Perhaps while visiting old friends there he learned of the Spaldings in near-by Prattsburg, who were then waiting to go to the Osages. Whitman decided to get in touch with Spalding. Details are lacking regarding what must have been their first meeting. On December 17, Whitman sent the Journal of his trip to the Board and wrote: "I hope you will appoint Mr. Spalding or Mr. Clark. . . . Mr. Spalding said he knew of farmers and mechanics that would go."⁴³

It does not appear that Spalding then seriously considered the possibility of crossing the mountains. The Board had appointed him for the Osages, and Spalding considered the matter settled. On December 28, Spalding wrote to the Board and reported on his activities. He had made some collections of money and clothing; had continued his study of medicine;⁴⁴ and was planning to drive overland to Pittsburgh as soon as the weather permitted. There he intended to ship his light wagon to Independence, Missouri—the freight charges he estimated at ten dollars. At Independence he would get some horses and drive the one hundred and sixty miles overland to Boudinot.

Greene had written in a previous letter about the necessity of using caution and care in the expenditure of mission funds for an outfit. Spalding replied to this:

Let me here say that when you learn that I am expending the Lord's money for any thing which is not absolutely necessary, sit down as soon as you can get your books and erase my name from the catalogue of you missionaries and send me notice immediately that I am recalled from the missionary field.

⁴³ Whitman's Journal appeared in *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (hereafter referred to as *O.H.Q.*) Vol. 28, p. 243, ff.

⁴⁴ Spalding undoubtedly attended some of the instruction at the Medical College of Ohio, while a student at Lane, 1833-1835. This was a frequent practice of theological students of that time. Lane Seminary in its catalog mentioned the fact that its students had the privilege of attending these lectures.

In the postscript of that letter, Spalding added: "If the Board and Dr. Whitman wish me to go to the Rocky Mountains with him, I am ready. Act your pleasure."⁴⁵

Greene replied to Spalding on January 2, 1836. He wrote:

I see no objection to yr starting for the Osage country at the time you propose, and proceeding in the manner you also propose, provided the Ohio river will be open at the time. Dea. Thomas, our agent in Utica, will furnish you with a hundred dollars, which a little exceeds the sum you suppose may be needed for purchasing medicines and travelling. At Cincinnati you can obtain money for purchasing heavy articles which you may find it expedient for you to procure there.⁴⁶

Greene advised against taking many heavy articles, since such could usually be secured nearer their field. He regretted to announce that no associates were available to go with them. He referred to a treaty which the Government was then trying to negotiate with the Osages which, if signed, would have greatly enlarged and facilitated mission work. Regarding the possibility of going with Whitman, Greene wrote:

It does not seem to me desirable that yr designation should be changed to the Rocky Mountain Indians at this time unless you strongly desire it. Should the Osage treaty fail, and they be left as they now are, or in a worse condition, as they would necessarily be, I presume that our Committee would be disposed to have you go further west, perhaps to the Pawnees or Omahaws, in a year from next spring.⁴⁷

There the matter rested. Sometime before Spalding wrote to Greene on December 28, 1835, the Spaldings had returned to the Hart home at Holland Patent. On Monday morning, February 1, 1836, Henry and Eliza left for Prattsburg after an affecting farewell. Captain Hart accompanied them as far as Prattsburg, one hundred and forty miles distant, where he remained until the 8th, and then returned. It was hard for Eliza to say goodby to her mother and to her brothers and sisters. With the exception of her brother Horace, she never saw any of

⁴⁵ Spalding letter No. 5.

⁴⁶ Greene to Spalding, Jan. 2, 1836. Coll. A.

⁴⁷ *Loc. cit.*

that family group again. Soon after starting on their trip, Eliza started a diary in which she wrote of the farewell:

While I witnessed the emotions of grief on the part of my dear friends at parting with me, I was enabled in a great measure to suppress my own feelings, until after I had experienced the painful trial of separation.⁴⁸

Seven months and two days later the two arrived at their destination in far-off Oregon, and on October 2, Spalding wrote, making reference to the farewell scene at Eliza's home:

... a day that will I think be long remembered by us; a day may I not ask, that will be set apart by that little band at least of dear friends: (oh my soul, shall I never see them again!) assembled in that sacred room on the day of our departure, as a day of prayer and thanksgiving to that God, who has sustained, and finally brought to completion, the hazardous expedition undertaken by the missionaries of the Board.⁴⁹

The Spaldings and Captain Hart drove in the light wagon to Prattsburg, where the Spaldings paused for another brief visit with friends. According to Joel Wakeman, Spalding was invited to speak in the Prattsburg church; if so, then that must have been for the service on Sunday, February 7. As would be expected of a young missionary going out to a distant mission station, Spalding delivered a ringing missionary message. Years later Wakeman wrote of it as follows:

As I resume my pen to continue the sketch of Rev. Henry H. Spaulding, the sixty years space that lies between us seems closed, and I am again in his immediate presence. I fancy I hear his voice in clear emphatic tones, uttering his opinion of a Christian's duty towards the heathen nations. Some considered him censorious and uncharitable and took offense at his severe reproof for neglecting the command of our Lord, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature."⁵⁰

Wakeman also wrote of the many social gatherings held in Prattsburg and vicinity during those last few

⁴⁸ Mrs. Spalding's Diary, Coll. W. Extracts from it have been published in Warren, *Memoirs*.

⁴⁹ Spalding letter No. 12.

⁵⁰ *Prattsburg News*, Aug. 17, 1893.

days of the Spaldings' visit. Oftentimes these gatherings would turn into prayer meetings, "where the voice of prayer was heard commending them to the care of Him whose behest they were anxious to obey." And sometimes before they parted, they would sing one of Spalding's favorite hymns:

*From Greenland's icy mountains
From India's coral strand,
Where Afric's sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sand,
From many an ancient river,
From many a palmy plain,
They call us to deliver
Their land from error's chain.*

On Monday, February 8, Henry and Eliza said good-bye to Captain Hart, and Eliza wrote in her Diary:

Oh, what grief at parting did his eyes, which were filled with tears, his trembling hand and faltering voice as he bade me farewell, betray. Dear father, may the ever blessed God protect and restore thee to the bosom of thy dear family in peace and safety.

On Friday, February 12, Henry and Eliza left for Boudinot. There was snow on the ground. Henry had converted the wagon into a sleigh, and had hired someone to drive them to Pittsburgh. It appears that Henry had then disposed of his horse and owned only the wagon. They spent the week end at Howard, fifteen miles away, where they engaged a room at the inn. In all probability Henry had made arrangements to speak there on Sunday, February 14, and it may have been then that he received the collection of \$7.00 and clothing to the value of \$2.00.

On Sunday, February 14, Dr. Marcus Whitman arrived at Howard and informed the Spaldings that he had obtained the Board's permission for them to change their destination. Instead of going to Boudinot, they were to go to Old Oregon.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NEZ PERCE DELEGATION

THE March 1, 1833, issue of the New York *Christian Advocate and Journal* carried the famous letter from William Walker which told of the arrival of four Indians at St. Louis who came from beyond the Rockies in search of the white man's religion. Walker was the son of a white man and a Wyandotte Indian woman. He became one of the influential men of the Wyandotte Indian tribe, located on the Sandusky Reservation in northern Ohio. This tribe of Indians was to be moved to a reservation west of the Mississippi River. Walker went out in the fall of 1831 to look over the lands and to complete arrangements for their transfer. While passing through St. Louis he called on General William Clark,¹ who was Superintendent in charge of Indian affairs.

While in St. Louis, Walker learned of the arrival that fall of four Indians who came on an unusual errand. They wanted the white man's religion! General Clark told Walker that one of the Indians had died and that another was sick. He took Walker into an adjoining room and showed him the sick Indian, pointing out the flattened forehead which gave the name Flatheads to an Indian tribe.² Walker went on about his work, afterwards returning to Ohio. About a year and a half passed. On January 19, 1833, Walker wrote his epoch-making letter to his friend G. P. Disosway of New York, an active Methodist layman who was intensely interested in missions. In this letter he wrote:

¹ The companion of Meriwether Lewis of the famous Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-6. This expedition was authorized in 1803, the year in which Spalding was born.

² The head was flattened, by those who practiced this custom, in infancy, when a board was placed in such a position as to push the forehead back. The head was thus flattened from the eyebrows to the vault of the cranium. The Flathead tribe was misnamed, for they did not practice this except in rare cases.

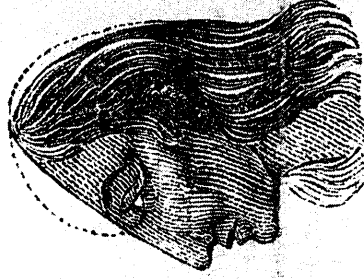
s until their object was fully
to the credit of the brethren
he comfort of those who may
or preachers.

MELANCHOLY.

Indian Advocate and Journal.
FLAT-HEAD INDIANS.

utilize the savage tribes of our
the most remarkable signs of
iorate the condition of the In-
rve them from gradual decline
government of the U. States
already commenced removing
westward of the Mississippi.—
to establish them in a perma-
one powerful nations of these
accepted the proposal, have
to their new lands, and others
to follow them. Among those
re the Wyandots, a tribe long
nding at the head of the great
illers in Canada first discovered
cending the St. Lawrence, at
ere subsequently driven by the

size, delicately formed, small limbs, and the most
exact symmetry throughout, except the head. I
had always supposed from their being called "Flat-
Heads," that the head was actually flat on the top;
but this is not the case. The head is flattened
thus:



From the point of the nose to the apex of the
head, there is a perfect straight line, the protuber-
ance of the forehead is flattened or levelled. You
may form some idea of the shape of their heads
from the rough sketch I have made with the pen,
though I confess I have drawn most too long a pro-

Walker's drawing of the Flathead Indian.

From New York *Christian Advocate and Herald*, March 1, 1833.

ing in the most delicious fis
their time in hunting and
disturbed from every enem
will be consigned to a plac
fires in his sight that he ca
and deer that cannot be ca
ger.

A curious tradition pre
cerning beavers. These an
their sagacity, they believe
dians, who have been con
their wickedness, by the gr
sent form of the brute cre
period they also declare the
will be restored to their for

How deeply affecting is
four natives travelling in
thick forests and extensive
ers after truth! The story
in history. What a touchi
for the imagination and pe
Mrs. Hemans, or our own
what intense concern will n
are fired with holy zeal for
fellow beings, read their h
mense plains, mountains, a
otions whence they came.

I was struck by their appearance. They differ in appearance from any tribe of Indians I have ever seen: small in size, delicately formed, and the most exact symmetry throughout, except the head. I had always supposed from their being called "Flat-heads" that the head was actually flat on top; but such is not the case. The head is flattened thus.

And then Walker illustrated his letter with a drawing evidently made from memory. After looking at the picture he had made, Walker added: "I confess I have drawn most too long a proboscis for a Flat head."

The publication of the letter and the picture aroused an immediate response. Other religious publications reprinted the story, and in the May 10th issue of the *Advocate*, the picture was reprinted along with three letters from St. Louis verifying the story. Stirred and stimulated by the story of the unusual errand of the four Indians, the Methodist Church sent out Jason Lee and two associates to the Willamette River valley of Oregon in 1834.³ In that same year Samuel Parker and two others of the American Board went as far as St. Louis, and in the year following Samuel Parker and Marcus Whitman went together to the rendezvous⁴ in the Rocky Mountains. Subsequent events of great importance both for the church and for the nation resulted from the visit of those four Indians to St. Louis in the fall of 1831.

Four main questions have been asked regarding the Indian delegation which have brought varying answers. These questions are: When did they go to St. Louis? What inspired them to go? Of what tribes were they members? What did they seek?

THE DATE OF THE DELEGATION

Due to an ambiguity in Walker's letter, published March 1, 1833, practically all Protestant writers until recent years have stated that the delegation went to St. Louis in the fall of 1832.⁵ This date is known to be

³ Two lay workers were added to the party at St. Louis.

⁴ The rendezvous in the Rockies was where the caravan with supplies from civilization met the mountain men of the fur companies. The meeting place shifted from time to time.

⁵ Walker wrote on January 19, 1833, describing a visit of the fall of 1831. Many thought he referred to the fall of 1832.

wrong from the following evidence. On December 31, 1831, the Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, wrote to the editor of *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi* of Lyons, France, and gave the earliest known account of the visit.⁶

This date harmonizes with the dates given in the burial records of the two Indians of the delegation who died in St. Louis and were buried from the Catholic cathedral. According to these records, a Nez Perce named Keepellele was buried on the 31st of October, 1831, and a Flathead named Paul was buried on the 17th of November of the same year.⁷ These records prove conclusively that the delegation reached St. Louis in the fall of 1831.⁸

THE REASONS FOR THE EXPEDITION

The attention of Christians was focused upon this Indian delegation because the members of this group made the long journey from beyond the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis in search of information and perhaps also of teachers of the white man's religion. There has been considerable speculation as to just how and where the Indians received sufficient information about the white man's religion to arouse their curiosity to an extent to lead them to make such a journey.

⁶ *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, Vol. 2, pp. 188-9.

⁷ Chittenden and Richardson, *Life of De Smet*, I, p. 22. "*Le trent et un d'Octobre mil huit cent trent et un, Je, sousigné ai inhumé dans le Cimetière de cette Parouisse le corps de Keepellele, ou Pipe Bard du Nez Percé, de la tribu de Chopoweck Nation appelé Têtes Plates agé d'environ quarante quatre ans, administré du St. Baptême venant de la rivière Columbia au delà des Rocky Mountains.—Edm. Saulinier, Pr. (être).*"

"*Le dis-sept de Novembre mil huit cent trente et un, Je, sousigné, ai inhumé dans le Cimetière de cette Parouisse le corps de Paul, sauvage de la Nation des Têtes Plattes, venant de la rivière Columbia au delà des Rocky Mountains, administré du St. Baptême et de l'extrême onction.—Rous, Pr. (être).*" The exact site of the graves of these two Indians is now unknown.

⁸ A letter from Rev. John York of April 25, 1876, in the Thornton Mss., Bancroft Coll., Univ. of Cal., speaks of a Methodist conference at St. Louis in the fall of 1830 when the Indians appeared. York is right about the conference but wrong about the Indians arriving in 1830.

In reviewing the evidence, we find four possible sources. The first was from the members of the Lewis and Clark expedition, which visited the Flathead and Nez Perce country in the fall of 1805 and the spring of 1806. These were the first white men who ever penetrated into this part of the Indian country, and, while a few individuals of these tribes had seen white men before, the great majority had not. It is possible that Lewis and Clark themselves or some of their men gave to the Indians the first idea of the white man's religion.

Lewis and Clark had very friendly relations with the Indians they found along the upper tributaries of the Columbia, and called them the "Pierced Noses," or in French, *Nez Percés*.⁹ The designation is a misnomer for the Nez Percés did not pierce their noses, except in rare cases. The members of the tribes on the lower Columbia followed this custom.

A second possible source of religious information may have been the occasional trader or trapper who penetrated into the Nez Perce country or who had contacts with them after the days of Lewis and Clark and prior to 1831. The first white man to live within the limits of the present state of Idaho was David Thompson, an Englishman and a devout Protestant, who established a trading post on the northeast shore of Lake Pend d'Oreille in September, 1809. Thompson carried his Bible with him into the great Northwest country. When he lived among the Flathead and Kootenai Indians, he is reported to have observed most faithfully his daily devotions.¹⁰ Parker, who visited the Nez Percés in 1835, claimed that they received some religious ideas from Pierre C. Pambrun, factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Walla Walla.¹¹ Whitman once wrote that the "Flatheads and Napersas"¹² received their conceptions of Christianity from "traders & travelers in their country."¹³

⁹ The name is no longer given its French pronunciation, but has been Anglicized. The last word, in its singular form, is pronounced as one syllable. These Indians called themselves the Chopunnish, or "foot of the hill" tribe. Vincent, *Lewis and Clark*. p. 24.

¹⁰ Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, p. 1.

¹¹ Parker, *Journal*, p. 110.

¹² Whitman often used a phonetic spelling of his own.

¹³ Whitman to Greene, Nov. 7, 1835. Coll. A.

Without a doubt the Nez Perces and Flatheads received information of the white man's religion from a number of Iroquois Indians, who, between the years 1812-1820, came into the West with the fur traders, and intermarried with the Flatheads. It is reported that there were twenty-four and that a prominent figure among them was Ignace La Mousse, sometimes called Old Ignace. Some of this number, if indeed not all, had received some training in Roman Catholicism and communicated what they knew to the Flatheads. Old Ignace acquired great influence among his adopted people.¹⁴

The Nez Perces had many friendly contacts with the Flatheads. Mrs. Spalding in one of her letters stated that the Nez Perces had received some Christian ideas from the Flatheads, among whom the Iroquois lived. She wrote:

They have learned something about God and the sabbath from an Iroquois Indian who has been religiously educated—for several years has been in the Am. Fur Co's employ, has a Flathead wife, and has had considerable intercourse with this tribe.¹⁵

SPOKANE GARRY

A fourth, and perhaps the most important source of all, was Spokane Garry, who from 1825 to 1830 attended the mission school conducted by the Church of England in the Red River settlement where Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, now is. This settlement was started by Lord Selkirk, a high official of the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1811. Most of the settlers were Scotsmen who were somewhat disappointed when they learned that the first Protestant clergyman to be sent to them was an Anglican instead of a Presbyterian. The Rev. John West arrived in 1820 and was instrumental in the erection of a school-house.¹⁶ In 1823, the Rev. D. T. Jones was "appointed chaplain at a salary of £100 during absence of Mr. West."¹⁷

¹⁴ Palladino, *Indian and White*, p. 8.

¹⁵ Spalding letter No. 13.

¹⁶ McWilliams, *Manitoba Milestones*, p. 55.

¹⁷ Mrs. Whitman to the Hulls, Oct. 25, 1836, published in *Presbyterian Advance*, Dec. 29, 1927, wrote: "A young chief of the

In 1825, Gov. George Simpson conceived the idea of taking back to that school some Indian boys from west of the Rockies so that they could be trained to serve as interpreters. In Simpson's Journal for April 12, 1825, we find this item:

Baptised the Indian boys, they are the Sons of the Principal Spokane & Coutonais War Chiefs, men of great Weight and Consequence in this part of the country. They are named Coutenai Pelly and Spokane Garry.¹⁸

Both of the Indian boys were named after Hudson's Bay officials.

Pelly died at the school a few years later. Spokane Garry is reported to have been born in 1811, and was therefore only fourteen years old when he was sent east. He returned to his people about 1830, having received a sufficient knowledge of English to make him a good interpreter.¹⁹ He could both read and write.

Garry returned with the laudable desire to pass on to his people some of the benefits of civilization. He induced the Spokanes to build a schoolhouse which measured twenty by fifty feet. This was located about two miles north of Spokane Falls and within the city limits of what is now Spokane, Washington.²⁰ Here Garry taught a school during the winter months for several years. He also endeavored to teach his people to raise garden vegetables, wheat, and potatoes.²¹

Garry's greatest influence, as far as the subject of this chapter is concerned, was along religious lines. He brought back with him from the Red River school his Bible. All reports show that he earnestly sought to give

tribe [i. e. Cayuse] and of considerable influence has been to school at a mission station on Red River, east of the mountains, Mr. Cochran, missionary, and Mr. Jones, chaplain of the Hudson Bay Company." See also Bryce, *Hist. of Manitoba*, p. 115.

¹⁸ Simpson, Journal, p. 138. Lewis, *The Case of Spokane Garry*, gives many details of Garry's life. Lewis, p. 13, claims that eight boys from different tribes were sent to the mission school.

¹⁹ Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 13, claims that Spokane Garry learned both French and English. Garry's granddaughter denies this.

²⁰ Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 20. W. H. Gray visited the school in the spring of 1837. See his Journal, pp. 15-17.

²¹ H. H. Spalding got some potatoes from Garry in the spring of 1837.

his people a conception of the Christian religion. William Lewis, author of *The Case of Spokane Garry*, quotes Curley Jim, one of the Spokane Indians, as saying:

He [i.e. Garry] told us of a God up above. Showed us a book, the Bible, from which he read to us. He said to us, if we were good, that then when we died, we would go up above and see God. After Spokane Garry started to teach them the Spokane Indians woke up. Chief Garry used to read to them from his Bible.²²

The news of Garry's return and his new teaching spread to the surrounding tribes with the result that Indians from the Colville, Nez Perce, Okanogan, and Flat-head tribes went to hear Garry and see his Bible.²³ Garry found the task too big and gradually his enthusiasm waned. Simpson saw him in 1841 and found that he had relapsed to the level of his people. The missionaries, who settled among the Spokanes in 1839, found that they were able to get little help from Garry. He gruffly stated that he had quit, because the others had "jawed him so much about it."²⁴

On August 27, 1839, the Rev. A. B. Smith, then a missionary under the American Board living at Kamiah (Idaho), in the heart of the upper Nez Perces, wrote to the Board. Smith had been studying the language under Lawyer, son of old Chief Twisted-Hair, who had been one to welcome Lewis and Clark to the valley. One day Smith asked Lawyer the reason why the Nez Perces had gone to St. Louis. In reply Lawyer told of Spokane Garry and his Bible. Smith wrote:

About ten years ago a young Spokan who goes by the name of Spokan Garry, who had been at the Red River school, returned. My teacher, the Lawyer, saw him and learned from him respecting the Sabbath and some other things which he had heard at the school. This was the first that he [Lawyer] had heard about the

²² Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

²³ *Ibid.* See also article by Dr. Wm. McKay (son of Thomas McKay) *Hist. Synod of Wash.*, p. 231. "Cayuse Halket came home on a vacation from the Red River School and spent the winter on the Umatilla River. I think it was in 1831. He taught the people scriptures, prayers and to sing hymns. He created much interest and all wanted to worship God according to his instructions. Hence it was that the four Indians were sent to St. Louis to search for the Book and the white man's mode for worshipping God."

²⁴ Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 16.



MRS. JOE NOZER, GRANDDAUGHTER OF SPOKANE GARRY,
WITH HIS BIBLES.

Photo taken August 23, 1935 by C. M. Drury. Mrs. Nozer is
holding Spokane Garry's Bible, his New Testament,
and his prayer book.

Sabbath, and it was called by them *Halahpawit*.²⁵ He returned and communicated what he had heard to his people. Soon after which six individuals set out for the States, in search, as he says of christian teachers. Two of this number turned back in the mountains; the other four went on and arrived at St. Louis, where two died. One died soon after leaving that place, and one alone returned to tell the story, and he is now dead.²⁶

It appears that the Nez Perces at least envied Spokane Garry because of his Bible. They wanted a Bible too! True, they could not read it, but that did not prevent them from investing the book with what may have been a superstitious awe.²⁷

There are, therefore, four possible sources from which the Nez Perces could have learned of Christianity. These were the Lewis and Clark expedition, the hunters and trappers, the Iroquois Indians, and Spokane Garry. Any one of these four sources could have furnished the necessary stimulus which sent the four to St. Louis in the fall of 1831. Of course, there may have been a combination of several or of all of these causes. According to Lawyer's version the chief reason was Spokane Garry. The fact that Spokane Garry had a Bible strengthens belief in the claim that the Nez Perces wanted a Bible too.

THE PERSONNEL OF THE DELEGATION

Whereas there has been no important divergence of opinion regarding the date and the sources of the Indians' knowledge of Christianity, there has been a dif-

²⁵ Which means "Sabbath rest" or "Sabbath." Timothy, one of Spalding's first converts, named his village Alpowa, a derivative of *Halahpawit*.

²⁶ Coll. A. See also *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 36, p. 327.

²⁷ Feeling that such a book would be highly prized by Spokane Garry's family, and therefore preserved, I set myself to the task of locating it. Spokane Garry had but one daughter, Nellie, who had descendants. His sons died without issue. I met Nellie's one daughter on August 23, 1935, and to my delight found that she had her grandfather's Bibles. One was a Bible issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804; another was a New Testament; and the third was a prayer book, all bound in leather. The last two had no title page. There was no signature, but in one I found a letter written by H. H. Spalding to Spokane Garry, dated March 28, 1874. This letter is now in Coll. Wn.—C.M.D.

ference of opinion about the personnel of that delegation and about just what the Indians asked for when they reached St. Louis.

Catholic writers claim that the Indians of the 1831 delegation were Flatheads, and in this claim they are joined by a few Protestant writers.²⁸ In his letter of December 31, 1831, Bishop Rosati wrote:

Their remains were carried to the church for the funeral which was conducted with all the Catholic ceremonies. The other two attended and acted with great propriety. . .

We have since learned from a Canadian who has crossed the country which they inhabit that they belong to the nation of Têtes Plates [Flatheads], which, as with another called Pieds-Noirs [Blackfeet], have received some notions of the Catholic religion from two Indians who had been to Canada and who had related what they had seen.²⁹

Palladino, who served as a Catholic missionary among the Flatheads for twenty-five years, definitely states that the members of the 1831 delegation were Flathead Indians.³⁰ He further states that the names of the two who died in St. Louis were "Narcissa" and "Paul," but added in a footnote that the burial records give only the name of Paul. He wrote: "Why in the burial records . . . the name of one is given, and not that of the other is also more than we can tell." The name "Narcissa" is traditional, for it does not occur in any contemporary account.³¹

It is quite true that some of the early Protestant writers called the Indians Flatheads. This was due to the prevailing ignorance regarding the distribution of the Indian tribes west of the Rockies in those days, and also to the use Walker made of the name together with his hasty and exaggerated drawing. It was not long, however, before the Protestants began to draw a distinction between the Flatheads and the Nez Percés.

²⁸ Gray, *Oregon*, p. 173: "It was from this Flathead tribe that the first Indian delegation was sent to ask for teachers."

²⁹ *Records Am. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 2, pp. 188-9.

³⁰ Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

³¹ Palladino states that he got the name from "Bro. Wm. Claes-sens, one of the founders of the Flathead Mission." *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

On September 19-23, 1833, the Synod of Illinois met at Jacksonville, Illinois.³² The October 12th issue of the Jacksonville *Patriot* features the report of a committee sent to St. Louis to investigate the truth of the accounts of the Indian delegation. The committee consisted of the Rev. Lucian Farnan and Mr. Julius Reed. Mr. Farnan preached a missionary sermon at this meeting of the Synod. A committee was appointed to take notes and prepare a narrative, which subsequently appeared in the *Patriot*.³³ According to this report, three of the four Indians were Flatheads and one was "from the adjoining tribe called Pierced-Nose Indians."³⁴

In 1834, Jason Lee and his associates, among whom was his nephew, Daniel Lee, passed through St. Louis on their way to Old Oregon. Ten years later, Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost published their *Ten Years in Oregon*, which contains Daniel Lee's account of the Indian delegation. He wrote: "Four Indians, from beyond the Rocky Mountains . . . probably the 'Nez Perce' accompanied some of the white trappers from the buffalo country down to the city of St. Louis."³⁵

Another writer of this episode is Marcus Whitman, who has the reputation of being an accurate observer and a careful writer. Whitman stated that he received his information regarding the delegation from Lucien Fontenelle, the trader in the employ of the American Fur Company, "under whose protection they came and returned." Whitman wrote:

He [Fontenelle] says their object was to gain religious knowledge. For this purpose the Flathead tribe delegated one of their principal chiefs and two of their principal men, and the Napiersa tribe a like delegation, it being a joint delegation of both tribes. In addition to this delegation a young Napiersa came along. When they came to Council Bluff, two of the Flatheads and one of the

³² *Minutes of Illinois Synod*, 1833. Information furnished by courtesy of Dr. Walter Cremeans of Springfield, Ill. The Synod met at Vandalia, Oct. 18, 1832, at which time Farnan was chosen to preach the missionary sermon. The investigation of the Indian delegation must have been a private matter.

³³ An original clipping is in Coll. A. Photostat in Coll. Wn.

³⁴ Mowry, *Marcus Whitman*, pp. 37-39.

³⁵ Lee and Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon*, p. 109.

Napiersa returned home, and the other Flathead, the chief and the Napiersa chief, and the remaining one of the delegation and the young Indian came to St. Louis.³⁶

Thus, according to Whitman, three Nez Perces and one Flathead reached St. Louis.

This checks with the burial records of the Catholic Cathedral, which state that one was a Nez Perce and one a Flathead, and with Catlin's account. George Catlin was a painter who traveled up the Missouri River on the *Yellowstone*, the first steamboat to ascend the Missouri as far as the mouth of the Yellowstone. The boat left St. Louis, March 26, 1832.³⁷ Catlin found among his fellow passengers the two surviving Indians of the delegation from beyond the Rockies. He painted their pictures and definitely stated that they came from the Nez Perce tribe.

According to Catlin the name of one was "H'co-a-h'co-a-h'cotes (no horns on his head)," and the name of the other was "Hee-oh-'ks-te-kin (the rabbit skin leggings)." The former of these, according to Catlin, died on the return journey near the mouth of the Yellowstone "with disease he had contracted in the civilized district." Only Rabbit-Skin-Leggins survived to reach his people.³⁸

We find, therefore, that the Cathedral burial records, the account by Whitman, and the account by Catlin are in full accord. The delegation which arrived in St. Louis was made up of three Nez Perces and one Flathead, who may have been a half-breed (half Flathead and half Nez Perce). It is claimed that in 1833 and subsequent years there were other Indian delegations to St. Louis for similar reasons. These seemed to have been inspired by Old Ignace among the Flatheads, and they finally led to the establishment of Catholic missions in that tribe.

To date no historian has ever collected the scattered references that may be found giving the Indian side of this remarkable pilgrimage. Palladino gives the Flathead tradition and claims that the Indians were of that

³⁶ Whitman's Journal, *O.H.Q.*, Vol. 28, p. 256.

³⁷ Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, p. 6.

³⁸ Catlin, *No. Am. Ind.*, pp. 123 ff. See figures 207 and 208.



Rabbit-Skin-Leggins, who has a niece still alive.



No-Horns-On-His-Head.

Catlin's Pictures of the Survivors of the Nez Perce Delegation to
St. Louis.

From Faris: *Winning the Oregon Country.*

tribe.³⁹ His account, however, seems to refer to the delegations which went in 1833 and subsequent years.

The Nez Perces claim that the delegation was from their tribe. This claim can be supported both from contemporary records and genealogical facts. On August 27, 1839, the Rev. A. B. Smith wrote to the Board and gave Lawyer's version of the event, to which reference has already been made. Lawyer made special mention of Spokane Garry and his Bible.

Another account of the Nez Perce tradition is to be found in Kate McBeth's *The Nez Perces Since Lewis and Clark*. Miss McBeth was a Presbyterian missionary who had lived among the Nez Perces about thirty years at the time she wrote her book. In 1894, Billy Williams, one of the Indian elders in the Kamiah Presbyterian (Indian) Church, dictated to her his memories of the going out of these men to St. Louis. Billy claimed that he was then eight or ten years old and that one of the four who went was his cousin. He further stated that their names were "Tip-ya-lah-na-jeh-nim (Black or Speaking Eagle), . . . Ka-ou-pen (Man of the Morning or Daylight) . . . Hi-youts-tohan⁴⁰ (Rabbit-Skin-Leggins) . . . Ta-wis-sis-sim-nim⁴¹ (No horns on his head . . .)" Billy Williams claimed that the first two died in St. Louis; the last named on his way home; while only Rabbit-Skin-Leggins survived to tell his people. He never returned to the Kamiah Valley but met his people in the buffalo country in what is now western Montana.⁴²

Nez Perce genealogical traditions link two of these four Indians with the Nez Perce tribe. Black or Speaking Eagle, who died in St. Louis and was buried under the name of Keepellele, has descendants still living in Kamiah, Idaho. His grandson was Harrison Kip-kip-pallick-en. Rabbit-Skin-Leggins had a sister, Tis-koup,

³⁹ Palladino, *Indian and White in the Northwest*.

⁴⁰ Compare with Catlin's spelling "Hee-oh-'ks-te-kin."

⁴¹ Compare with Catlin's spelling "H'co-a-h'co-a-h'cotes."

⁴² McBeth, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31. Also p. 157, where Billy Williams claims that he saw Rabbit-Skin-Leggins in the buffalo country. "When I saw him he was talking with a trapper over there, one of King George's men. He called some of all the tribes to celebrate Christmas. That was the first I knew about Christmas."

whose daughter Eyah-wow-tone-my (Mrs. Emelia Johnson), now about eighty years old, is still living.⁴³ It was her Uncle Rabbit-Skin-Leggins who went in 1831 to St. Louis. Thus genealogical traditions definitely link two of the four with the Nez Perce tribe.

According to present-day traditions among the Nez Percés, Ka-ou-pu, who was buried at St. Louis under the name of Paul, left no descendants. It is the belief of the Nez Percés that he was half Flathead and half Nez Perce. The name, Ka-ou-pu, is still in use among the Nez Percés. No-Horns-On-His-Head, likewise, left no descendants. Nez Perce tradition further states that Rabbit-Skin-Leggins died in a battle with the Blackfeet Indians near what is now Salmon City, Idaho.⁴⁴

The evidence here given seems to be conclusive in proving that the personnel of the 1831 delegation to St. Louis was made up of three Nez Percés and one Flathead, who may have been a half-breed.

THE PURPOSE OF THE EXPEDITION

Even as there has been some difference of opinion regarding the personnel of the Indian delegation, there has also been some difference of opinion as to just what the Indians were seeking.

Some have felt that the four who arrived at St. Louis were prompted by idle curiosity or perhaps possessed a more adventuresome spirit than the other members of their tribe. Rev. Samuel Parker, in his official report of his trip to the American Board, suggests that these Indians "went out of curiosity." He wrote:

As to the circumstances under which the Flathead Indians visited St. Louis, I have only to say, I saw some of the persons who went and returned safely. They told me they went out of curiosity, and not by appointment as stated in our papers; but while in St. Louis some good people showed them kindness, sent

⁴³ I have in my possession a picture of Mrs. Johnson taken Dec., 1934, by Miss Vivian Purves of Kamiah.—C.M.D.

⁴⁴ During the summer of 1934, I spent a week with about 300 Nez Percés in their annual religious encampment at Talmacks, near Craigmont, Idaho, and secured this information from John Frank of Kamiah, one of their number.—C.M.D.

them to school, and instructed them in the things of religion. I found with them some tracts which were given them, of which they were very choice, but which (they) could not read.⁴⁵

Since Parker's expedition started four years after the Indians of the 1831-32 delegation had set out for St. Louis, it is altogether probable that Parker met some of the Indians of the subsequent delegations. We find no record of any Indians from west of the Rockies visiting St. Louis before the fall of 1831. That particular visit seems to have inspired others to make a similar trip. The fact that only one of the 1831-32 delegation returned to his people, and that Parker speaks of seeing "some of the persons who went and returned safely" is evidence that he saw those who went to St. Louis subsequent to the original number. Therefore, Parker's statement that the Indians went out of curiosity does not necessarily apply to the first delegation.

Walker stated that the Indians went as a result of a "national council."⁴⁶ Whitman stated that the Indians constituted "a joint delegation of both tribes."⁴⁷ A current Nez Perce tradition is that those who went were selected in the summer of 1831 when the Flatheads and the Nez Percés were camped together in the buffalo country of Montana, and that the subject had been much discussed around the camp fires.⁴⁸ The act of "delegating" may have been a very indefinite procedure. Whether the four who reached St. Louis acted wholly on their own initiative or not may never be known, but surely it is reasonable to believe that they went with the knowledge of others in their tribes and that their friends looked forward to their return.

Upon reaching St. Louis the Indians found themselves handicapped for the want of an interpreter. Bishop Rosati stated that they had no means of communicating their thoughts except by the sign language. He wrote: "It was truly distressing that they could not be

⁴⁵ See Parker's report, Coll. A., dated June 21, 1837.

⁴⁶ *Christian Advocate*, Mar. 1, 1833.

⁴⁷ Whitman's Journal, *O.H.Q.*, Vol. 28, p. 256.

⁴⁸ Received from Corbett Lawyer, grandson of Chief Lawyer.—C.M.D.

spoken to.”⁴⁹ Although General Clark could understand but little of the Flathead or the Nez Perce language, it appears, however, that he was able to learn something from the Indians about the object of their visit. When Catlin ascended the Missouri River with the two survivors, he did not know the object of their trip. Later, when this was brought to his attention, he wrote to General Clark for confirmation. Clark assured him that it was true, and Catlin wrote: “I was fully convinced of the fact.”⁵⁰

William Walker⁵¹ was the one most responsible for giving to the world the object of the Indians’ visit. In his letter to Disosway, he wrote:

Gen. C. related to me the object of their mission, and, my dear friend, it is impossible for me to describe to you my feelings while listening to his narrative... It happened that a white man had penetrated into their country, and happened to be a spectator at one of their religious ceremonies... He informed them that their method of worshipping the supreme Being was radically wrong... and also informed them that the white people away toward the rising of the sun had been put in possession of the true mode of worshipping the great Spirit. They had a book containing directions...⁵²

Here is the first mention of the Indians going for “a book.” In Daniel Lee’s account we also read: “they made inquiries about the book of which they had been informed by the hunters, which the Great Spirit had given to the white men to teach them his will.” After Lee gave what he felt were the facts of the story, including the statement about the Book, he added:

A high-wrought account of the visit of these Indians to St. Louis, by some writer in that vicinity, was published in the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, New York city, in March, 1833.⁵³

Some writers have been careless in interpreting Lee’s account of what was “high-wrought.” Lee did not brand

⁴⁹ *Records of Am. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 2, pp. 188-9.

⁵⁰ Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁵¹ Walker was a man of education and ability. He later became the first provisional governor of Kansas. Cp. *Nat. Cy. Am. Bio.*

⁵² *N. Y. Advocate*, *op. cit.* The italics are mine.—C.M.D.

⁵³ Lee and Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

everything that Walker wrote as being unreliable, for he agrees in the main essentials. Lee accuses Walker of exaggeration, but the plain fact is that Lee himself had to exaggerate Walker's account in order to make a good story as to just what was high-wrought. This is easily noticed when the two accounts are compared.

The fact that both Walker and Lee agree that the Indians made inquiries about the white man's *Book* is significant and needs to be remembered when we read what Spalding wrote on the subject.

The account of the Nez Percés' visit undoubtedly received many embellishments at the hands of ministers and others who were quick to use it to further the missionary cause. The visit to the Indians was compared to Paul's Macedonian visitor, and they were called "The Macedonian Nez Percés."⁵⁴

Among those guilty of embellishing this story was Henry Spalding. This was very easy for him to do, for he lacked the sense of historical accuracy. He had an eloquent tongue and a fluent pen and frequently let his imagination run away with him. We do not find the deliberate desire to deceive in these outbursts of eloquence, but we do find that Spalding himself came to believe as absolute truth what he had written in the heat of controversy.

"THE EVOLUTION OF A LAMENT"⁵⁵

In the February 16, 1866 issue of the *Walla Walla Statesman* appeared Spalding's lecture on "Early Oregon Missions." In this lecture Spalding referred to the speech of one of the survivors of the Nez Perce delegation as follows:

In the spring, as the other two were about to return to their nations, the chief made his last lament to General Clark: "I came to you, the Great Father of the white men, with but one eye partly opened. I am to return to my people beyond the mountains of snow, at the setting sun, with both eyes in darkness and both arms

⁵⁴ *Senate Ex. Doc.*, No. 37, p. 8, being a reprint from the *Chicago Advance*, Dec. 1, 1870.

⁵⁵ C. T. Johnson (T. C. Elliott) *The Evolution of a Lament*. *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. 2, pp. 195 and ff.

broken. I came for teachers and am going back without them. I came to you for the Book of God. You have not led me to it. You have taken me to your big house [theater] where multitudes of your children assemble and where your young women dance as we do not allow our women to dance, and you have taken me to many other big houses [Catholic churches] where the people bow down to each other and light torches to worship pictures. The Book of God was not there. And I am ready to return to my people to die in darkness." This lament was overheard in an adjoining room by a young man of the Methodist Church, who immediately made known the fact that the Indians had come beyond the Rocky Mountains to obtain missionaries in a letter to a brother in Christ in Pittsburgh.⁵⁶

This is the first published "lament." It appeared in print thirty-two years after the words were supposed to have been uttered. No record has ever been found of these words being published in a Pittsburgh paper or in any other paper prior to 1866.⁵⁷ Spalding here seems to refer to Walker's letter to Disosway, who was in New York, not in Pittsburgh. He referred to the "lament" being "overheard," and in the same article stated: "The lament I received from the only surviving one of the delegation after I arrived in the nation." For the sake of truth, be it said that no reference has been found in any of the extant letters of Spalding that I have seen to any meeting with the survivor of the St. Louis delegation.⁵⁸ Surely if such an event had taken place in the early years of Spalding's missionary work, or at any subsequent time, he certainly would have made mention of it.

The whole lament, together with Spalding's account of how he received it, must be put down as the work of an old man's imagination.⁵⁹ The lament evolved. In the fall of 1870, Spalding went east for the first time after his leaving for Old Oregon in the spring of 1836. *En route* he called on the Rev. S. J. Humphrey, editor of the *Chicago Advance*. In the December 1st issue, Humphrey

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Marshall, *Acq. Oregon*, Vol. 2, p. 18, "Not a trace of that impossible farewell speech of the Flat Heads to Gen Clarke has ever been produced in print or in manuscript of an earlier date than February 16, 1866."

⁵⁸ See Appendix No. 1 for list of Spalding letters examined.

⁵⁹ Spalding was then sixty-three years old. His lectures were written when he was very much excited.

published the account of his interview with Spalding in which the lament appears in a different form. We do not know whether Humphrey or Spalding did the embellishing.

Walker and Lee both referred to "the book." In the first published account of the lament, this was called the "Book of God." In Humphrey's account it appeared in a more popular form as the "white man's Book of Heaven."

In 1883, Rev. William Barrows issued his *Oregon*, which contains still another version of the lament, and incidentally does not indicate where he got it.⁶⁰ In 1901, W. A. Mowry's *Marcus Whitman and the Early Days of Oregon* appeared, which claimed to be "history" and "not an embellished story." Mowry used Barrow's version of the lament.⁶¹ Many other writers on this subject have done likewise, including Nixon and Eells. In spite of the efforts of such writers as Marshall in his two-volume work, *The Acquisition of Oregon*, to correct such misinformation, the old lament is still repeated as being a true account of what was said. They who prefer historical accuracy to the eloquence born of imagination will lay it aside with real sorrow, for it is a beautiful speech.⁶²

Another point in Humphrey's account of his interview with Spalding deserves attention. It was Spalding's firm conviction that General Clark was a Catholic, and for that reason he believed that Clark took the Indians to the Catholic Cathedral, called in the priests, and did not give them the "Book of Heaven." The fact is that Clark was not a Catholic. He was a charter member of two Masonic lodges in St. Louis, and also a pew-holder and one of the organizers of Christ Church (Episcopal) of that city.⁶³

⁶⁰ Barrows, *Oregon*, p. 110.

⁶¹ P. 46 Mowry wrote: "One of the clerks in General Clark's office took down, at the moment, the speech of the Indian as it was interpreted to General Clark, and it began to circulate." He gives no proof for his assertion.

⁶² Bashford, *Oregon*, p. 269: "If genuine it is the highest example of Indian oratory, as Lincoln's Gettysburg speech is the highest example of American eloquence."

⁶³ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

IN CONCLUSION

Whereas some imaginative Protestant accounts have stressed the fact that the Indians were in search of "the white man's Book of Heaven," it should also be pointed out that some Catholic writers have claimed that the members of this delegation went to St. Louis "in search of the Black Gown and his religion."⁶⁴ There seems to be no doubt but that the Flathead delegation of 1835, and of subsequent years, did definitely ask for "Black Robes." In view of the difficulty the Nez Perces experienced in communicating their desires, and also of the hazy ideas regarding the white man's religion, it is easily possible for the members of that delegation to have asked for the *Book*, or for "Black Robes," or for both. The book alone would have done them no good, for it was not translated into their language, nor could they read. In all probability the Indians were entirely unaware of any distinction in the white man's religion.

Even after being stripped of all its embellishments, the story of the long journey of the four Indians to St. Louis on their unusual errand of seeking for light about the white man's God, remains a romantic episode in the annals of American history. That visit started the Oregon missions, which in turn greatly affected the political history of the whole Northwest. One of the very first to answer the call of the Nez Perce delegation was Henry Harmon Spalding, and to that tribe he devoted his life.

⁶⁴ Schulte, *The Catholic Heritage of St. Louis*, p. 163. He also writes: "The lone survivor returned to his tribe with the promise of Bishop Rosati that a priest would be sent them as soon as one was available."

CHAPTER FOUR

PARKER AND WHITMAN

YEARS before the Nez Perce delegation to St. Louis focused the missionary interest of the churches of America upon Oregon, we find the churches already considering their responsibility to that part of the country. In 1820, the American Board established its mission in Hawaii, then known as the Sandwich Islands. These missionaries began to write back at once about the need of sending missionaries to the tribes that lived along the Pacific coast.

The Prudential Committee of the American Board felt the need for definite information and, therefore, sent Rev. Jonathan S. Green on an exploring tour. Green sailed from Honolulu in February, 1829, on a vessel that went as far north as the Russian settlements at Sitka and worked as far south as San Francisco. Green made such observations of the country, people, and living conditions as were possible. To Green belongs the honor of being the first Protestant missionary to visit Old Oregon.

Green's Journal appeared in the November, 1830, issue of the *Missionary Herald*, in which we read his definite recommendation for the establishment of a mission "somewhere in the vicinity of the Columbia River." Spalding was a student in Franklin Academy when this issue of the *Herald* appeared. Among the few magazines to which he had access and which he read with avidity was the *Herald*, but little did he then think that he would be one of the founders of the American Board's mission "somewhere in the vicinity of the Columbia River."

Due to the great cost of sending missionaries around the Horn, and due also to the limited funds of the American Board, no action was taken at that time on Green's recommendations. Fortunately for the cause of missions in Oregon, the possibilities of overland travel were opened in the period from 1825 to 1833 through the explorations of such men as Ashley, Smith, Jackson, Sublette, Bonneville, Wyeth, and others. It was found that

the overland trip was both feasible and comparatively inexpensive. These new developments made it possible for the mission boards to send their representatives into Old Oregon by land rather than by sea.

WALKER'S LETTER TO DISOSWAY

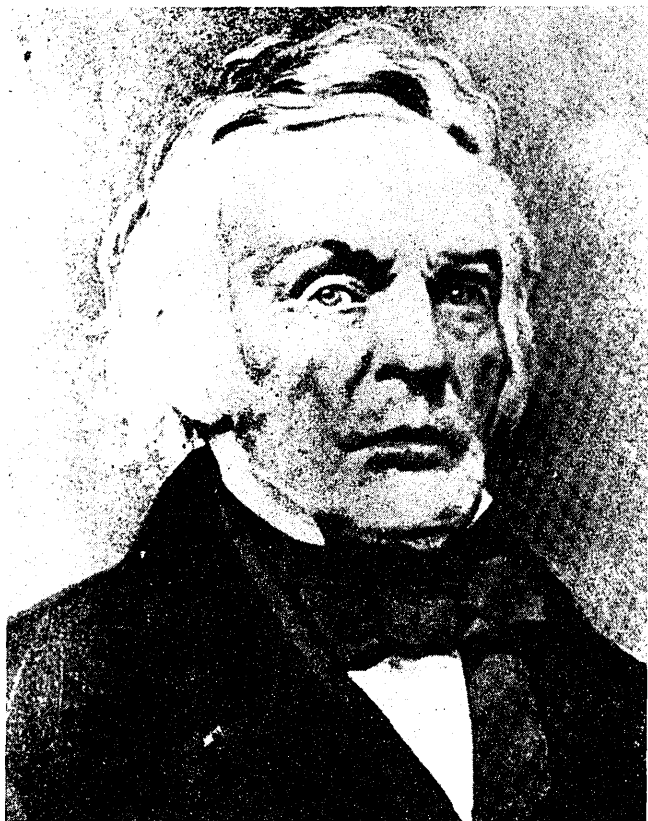
Just at that opportune time when the mission boards were beginning to consider the possibilities of sending workers overland, the famous Walker letter to Disosway appeared in the March 1, 1833 issue of the *New York Christian Advocate*. According to one writer, that letter "sold the Oregon mission project" as nothing else had done, because among other things:

...it was illustrated by an exaggerated drawing of a Flathead Indian, showing a crushed skull. All academic arguments in behalf of missions in the Northwest were as nothing to this. Let it be known that heathen anywhere were throwing babies to crocodiles or binding children's feet or crushing their skulls and sympathy was aroused and purses automatically opened.¹

There may have been a sentimental appeal in the picture. Contemporary writers, however, make little mention of the deformed head. Instead they dwell upon the long trip the Indians made to get the white man's religion. They called the Indians "The Wise Men from the West." It was a story with dramatic appeal which captured the imagination of the church members. As soon as the story was published, it aroused an immediate response.

The Methodist Church was the first to act, and on May 25, 1833, commissioned Jason Lee. His nephew Daniel Lee, Cyrus Shepherd, Courtney M. Walker, and P. L. Edwards completed the party. They left St. Louis April 28, 1834, and were the first Protestant missionaries to cross the Rocky Mountains. Even though the delegation which stirred the Protestant churches of America to action was a Nez Perce delegation, the Lee party did not stop to minister to them, nor to the Flatheads, but passed on and settled in the Willamette Valley. A year

¹ Hulbert, *Undeveloped Factors*, p. 88.



SAMUEL PARKER.

From Miller: *Presbyterianism in Steuben and Allegany.*

later, when Parker and Whitman were at the rendezvous, it was learned that the Nez Perces and Flatheads "never heard of the Methodist missionaries."²

SAMUEL PARKER

The Methodists, however, were not the only ones stirred by this Macedonian appeal. Whereas they have the honor of actually sending the first missionaries to Old Oregon who established a permanent residence, the first to volunteer to go was Rev. Samuel Parker, who offered to go, in a letter written to the American Board April 10, 1833, six weeks before Jason Lee was commissioned.

Samuel Parker was born in Ashfield, Massachusetts, April 23, 1779. He attended Williams College and was graduated in 1806, the year the haystack prayer meeting was held. He attended Andover Theological Seminary, where he found such men as Adoniram Judson, Samuel Newell, and Samuel Nott in his class. With such associations, we are not surprised to find Parker a firm believer in the missionary enterprise. Parker was pastor of the Congregational Church at Middlefield, Massachusetts, at the time the famous Walker letter appeared, and although Parker was fifty-four years old at the time, married, and with three children, yet he wanted to go to Oregon.³

The American Board felt it unwise to send a man so old, and with family responsibilities, on such a long journey. Parker wrote several times throughout the summer of 1833 in regard to this, and then, thinking that the Board was not interested, dropped the matter. Meanwhile, Mrs. Parker's health failed, and they decided to leave Middlefield and return to their home in Ithaca.⁴

January 6, 1834, was set aside by the Presbyterian General Assembly as a day of fasting and prayer. The

² Parker to Greene, Aug. 17, 1835. Coll. A.

³ See article *The Church at Home and Abroad*, March 1895, by Dr. H. W. Parker (his son), pp. 199, ff. Samuel Parker died March 21, 1866, at Ithaca, N. Y. He lies buried in the Ithaca cemetery.

⁴ Parker built two houses in Ithaca. One is still standing at 404 E. Seneca St. The original Parker home, just back of this on Parker St., was burned in 1934.

day was observed by the Presbyterian Church in Ithaca, of which Rev. Alfred E. Campbell was then pastor. A special service was held in the session house of the church. Parker was present. His old enthusiasm for Oregon missions returned. He spoke with such enthusiasm on the subject that the church then and there proposed to support some missionaries for Oregon. Parker wanted to go out and explore the field. After picking out suitable mission stations, he would return to his family.

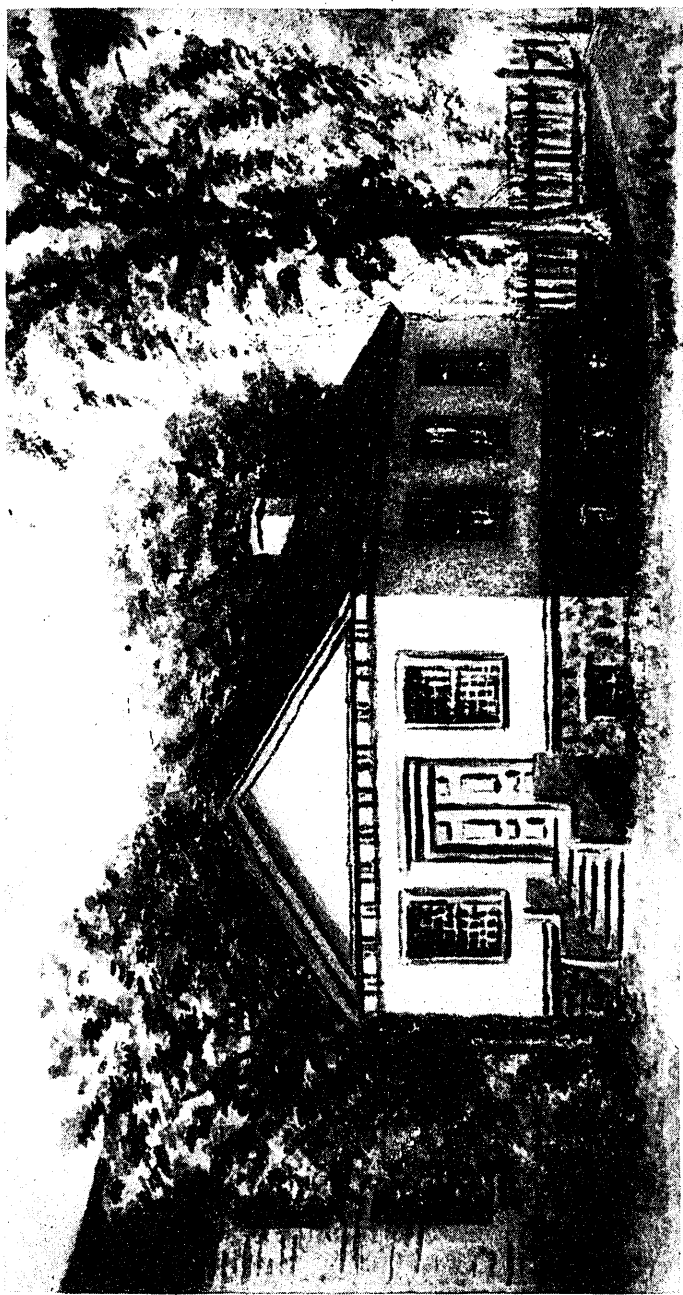
Negotiations were again opened with the American Board which proceeded favorably for Parker. It does not appear that either Parker or the Board was aware of the Lee party which left that spring. Certainly they had very hazy ideas as to just when the caravan of the American Fur Company left St. Louis for the mountains. Together with Samuel Allis⁵ and John Dunbar,⁶ Parker arrived at St. Louis in the latter part of May, 1834, much too late to join the caravan. It was decided to have Dunbar and Allis open a mission among the Pawnees, a tribe which lived along the Platte River in what is now Nebraska.

Parker returned to New York state. At his own suggestion and with the approval of the American Board, Parker traveled through the western counties in his own wagon, holding missionary meetings and raising money. He revisited the towns of Steuben and Allegany counties in western New York, which he had first visited in the early years of his ministry as a home missionary. Writing to his family from Franklinsville, New York, on December 5, 1834, he said:

I have found some missionaries. Dr. Whitman, of Wheeler, Steuben County, New York, has agreed to offer himself to the Board to go beyond the mountains. He has no family. Two ladies offer themselves, one a daughter of Judge Prentiss of Amity, Alle-

⁵ Allis was a saddler, a native of Ithaca, b. Sept. 28, 1805; d. about 1889.

⁶ Born at Ware, Mass., March 7, 1804; graduated Williams College, 1832; spent two years at Auburn Theol. Sem. 1832-34; died Nov. 1, 1857, at Robinson, Kansas.



The Session House of the First Presbyterian Church, Ithaca, New York, as it was in 1835. It was here that the American Board's mission to Oregon was born. A monument was dedicated to Parker and Whitman on the church property, Ithaca, New York, on May 12, 1935.

From One Hundred Years of the Presbyterian Church of Ithaca.

day was observed by the Presbyterian Church in Ithaca, of which Rev. Alfred E. Campbell was then pastor. A special service was held in the session house of the church. Parker was present. His old enthusiasm for Oregon missions returned. He spoke with such enthusiasm on the subject that the church then and there proposed to support some missionaries for Oregon. Parker wanted to go out and explore the field. After picking out suitable mission stations, he would return to his family.

Negotiations were again opened with the American Board which proceeded favorably for Parker. It does not appear that either Parker or the Board was aware of the Lee party which left that spring. Certainly they had very hazy ideas as to just when the caravan of the American Fur Company left St. Louis for the mountains. Together with Samuel Allis⁵ and John Dunbar,⁶ Parker arrived at St. Louis in the latter part of May, 1834, much too late to join the caravan. It was decided to have Dunbar and Allis open a mission among the Pawnees, a tribe which lived along the Platte River in what is now Nebraska.

Parker returned to New York state. At his own suggestion and with the approval of the American Board, Parker traveled through the western counties in his own wagon, holding missionary meetings and raising money. He revisited the towns of Steuben and Allegany counties in western New York, which he had first visited in the early years of his ministry as a home missionary. Writing to his family from Franklinsville, New York, on December 5, 1834, he said:

I have found some missionaries. Dr. Whitman, of Wheeler, Steuben County, New York, has agreed to offer himself to the Board to go beyond the mountains. He has no family. Two ladies offer themselves, one a daughter of Judge Prentiss of Amity, Alle-

⁵ Allis was a saddler, a native of Ithaca, b. Sept. 28, 1805; d. about 1889.

⁶ Born at Ware, Mass., March 7, 1804; graduated Williams College, 1832; spent two years at Auburn Theol. Sem. 1832-34; died Nov. 1, 1857, at Robinson, Kansas.

ghany County, the other a Miss McCoy of Cuba, offers herself; also one minister, very promising except his health; also a Mr. Clark and Rev. Samuel May, brother of Mrs. Powell.⁷

This letter introduces Marcus Whitman, who subsequently played such an important part in the drama of events which took place in Old Oregon, and also mentions Narcissa Prentiss.

MARCUS WHITMAN

Marcus Whitman was born at Rushville, New York, September 4, 1802, the second son of Beza and Alice Whitman. His father died when Marcus was eight years old. Mrs. Whitman, left with five small children and little of the world's goods, found it necessary to send Marcus to relatives in Cummington, Massachusetts. Marcus spent ten years at Cummington and at Plainfield. When seventeen years old, he came under the influence of the Rev. Moses Hallock, pastor of the Plainfield church, and was converted.

Marcus returned to his home in Rushville when he was about eighteen years old and soon after began the study of medicine under Dr. Ira Bryant. During the years 1825-26, he attended the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Fairfield, Herkimer County, New York. He then went to Gainsboro, Canada, now St. Ann, where he practiced his profession for about four years. Whitman wanted to be a minister. In the fall of 1830, he returned to Rushville, and began the study of theology. For various reasons he found it necessary to give up these plans. He returned to his medical college in the fall of 1831 and was graduated the next spring.⁸ Some time after his graduation and before the close of that year, Whitman settled in Wheeler, where he established himself as a physician. On August 27, 1833, the Rev. James H. Hotchkin, once pastor of the Prattsburg church, was called to the Wheeler church. It was, there-

⁷ *Whitman Coll. Quar.*, Oct., 1898, pp. 12-13.

⁸ Dr. F. C. Waite of Cleveland, Ohio, discovered the original medical records of Dr. Marcus Whitman. Not a single biography of Whitman heretofore published gives the correct data. Whitman was not graduated in 1824, as has been claimed, but in 1832.

fore, Hotchkin's lot to have been the pastor of three of the principal characters of the American Board's mission to Old Oregon—Henry Spalding, Narcissa Prentiss, and Marcus Whitman. Whitman served as a trustee, an elder, and a Sunday School superintendent in the Wheeler church.

Whitman first applied to the American Board in 1834 and was rejected because of ill health. Whitman was as persistent as Parker had been. On November 27, Rev. James Hotchkin, his pastor, sent in a good letter of recommendation to the Board which was signed by three elders at Wheeler—Otto F. Marshal, Jeremiah Stryker, and Thomas Aulls, and also by Rev. George Rudd, pastor of the Prattsburg church.

Then Rev. Samuel Parker came into that vicinity, and Marcus Whitman again offered to go. This time, with Parker's recommendations, the Board seemed satisfied and on January 6, 1835, appointed Whitman as a missionary physician to accompany Samuel Parker in his explorations.

NARCISSA PRENTISS

The Prentiss family moved from Prattsburg to Amity in June, 1834.⁹ Narcissa had completed her education in 1828, and since then had been engaged in teaching kindergarten in Bath, and elsewhere. Then one day Rev. Samuel Parker drove into her vicinity, gave his missionary message, and repeated his call for volunteers. Narcissa Prentiss offered to go. We do not know just when or where Marcus and Narcissa first met. Whitman lived at Wheeler for nearly two years while the Prentiss family was at Prattsburg, but during that period Narcissa was probably away most of the time teaching school. H. W. Parker, a son of Samuel Parker, claimed that his father was the one who introduced the two to each other.¹⁰

On June 3, 1834, Whitman wrote to the Board saying that he was not married and that at the time he had "no

⁹ Narcissa Prentiss to American Board, Feb. 23, 1835. Coll. A.

¹⁰ *Church at Home and Abroad*, March, 1895, p. 202.

present engagement upon that Subject." Yet eight months later, on February 23, 1835, he and Narcissa Prentiss were engaged.¹¹ If Mr. Parker was the one who first introduced Marcus to Narcissa, then they were engaged within three months after they first met. On February 23, 1835, Narcissa sent in her application, which was favorably received, and on March 19, the Board notified her of her appointment.

PARKER AND WHITMAN JOIN FONTENELLE'S CARAVAN

The American Fur Company had its headquarters at St. Louis, which served as a base of supplies for the two or three hundred men who were engaged in trapping, hunting, and trading in the mountains under its auspices. Each summer the Company would send out a caravan with supplies to meet their men at some agreed-upon place, called the rendezvous, where the supplies would be exchanged for furs. This caravan was commanded by Lucien Fontenelle in the summer of 1835. Parker and Whitman arrived in St. Louis the first part of April and secured permission to accompany the caravan to the rendezvous.

It was the custom of the fur traders to proceed by boat up the Missouri from St. Louis to Liberty, about four hundred miles to the northwest. Liberty was the outpost of civilization. There the caravan would assemble.¹² Leaving Liberty, the caravans would work northward by land on the east side of the Missouri River to a place about twenty miles south of Council Bluffs, Iowa, known as Bellevue. There they would cross the river above the mouth of the Platte and follow the north bank of the Platte westward to Fort Laramie, then known as the Fort of the Black Hills.¹³ There they would cross the north fork of the Platte and cut across to the mouth of the Sweetwater, which they followed to the South Pass. The ascent was very gradual and the pass itself a wide

¹¹ Powell to Am. Board, Feb. 23, 1835. Coll. A.

¹² Later the meeting place was shifted to Independence, Mo., and still later to Westport, now Kansas City, Mo.

¹³ Fort Laramie was located near the mouth of Laramie Creek on the North Platte. It is not to be confused with Laramie, Wyo.

valley, at an altitude of about 7,500 feet, in which one could locate the exact summit with difficulty.¹⁴

The immigrants to Oregon followed this trail and gave to it the name of the Oregon Trail. And over the same trail in later years went the Mormons on foot, pushing or pulling their two-wheeled carts, and after that the trail was known as the Old Mormon Trail. Today U. S. Highway No. 30 follows much of this route, except that it crosses the Divide at a point farther south.

Parker and Whitman left St. Louis for Liberty on April 8 and arrived at their destination on the 21st. The caravan did not get started until May 14. The missionaries were at first unpopular with the rough men in the Fur Company's employ. Whitman once wrote: "Very evident tokens gave us to understand that our company was not agreeable, such as the throwing of rotten eggs at me."¹⁵ At Bellevue an epidemic of cholera broke out among the men that resulted in three deaths. More would have died had it not been for the timely and efficient ministrations of Dr. Whitman. In this way Whitman removed the antagonisms which had existed, and after that the missionaries were treated with kindness and consideration.

THE TRIP TO THE RENDEZVOUS

On June 22 the caravan got started again. Whitman noted in his Journal that there "were between fifty and sixty men, six waggon, three yoke of oxen, and nearly two hundred horses and mules."¹⁶ The missionaries had two pack animals besides the two horses they rode.

Whitman's mention of wagons is significant. Many have the impression that Marcus Whitman was the first to take a wagon over the Continental Divide. Such was not the case. As early as 1830, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company took ten wagons to the head of the Wind River

¹⁴ South Pass was first discovered in 1812 by the returning Astoria party. It was rediscovered in 1824 and became the main gateway through the Rockies to Oregon. Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 67.

¹⁵ Whitman to Greene, May 10, 1839. Coll. A.

¹⁶ Whitman, Journal, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-245.

on the eastern slope of the Rockies. That was the first time wagons had been taken so far westward, and the men in charge declared that nothing prevented them from taking the wagons through South Pass.¹⁷ In 1832, Captain Bonneville of the U. S. Army took twenty loaded wagons through the pass to the Green River rendezvous.¹⁸ Whitman was an interested observer of the wagons—for if wagons could cross the mountains, could not women go also? If the women got weary of riding on horses with the uncomfortable sidesaddles, they could ride in a wagon.

Whitman wrote in his Journal of their daily routine. They were up with the dawn every morning, and would travel until about eleven o'clock and then stop for breakfast. After about a two-hour interval, they would be on their way again until about five o'clock, when they would eat the second meal of the day, and camp for the night. Parker was not the kind of man adapted for roughing it, so much of the detailed work of a camp fell upon Whitman's shoulders.

It was the practice of the men of the caravans to take only enough food with them to reach the buffalo range. After that they lived almost entirely on buffalo meat. The first buffalo on this trip was killed July 13, and on the 16th Whitman noted in his Journal that most of the provisions brought from the settlement were gone. The caravan reached Fort Laramie on the 26th of July. There Fontenelle left his wagons, repacking his goods on the animals. The caravan left on August 1. On the 10th they crossed the Divide and on the 12th reached the rendezvous. The total distance from Liberty, Missouri, to the rendezvous was estimated at 920 miles, which was covered in about sixty-seven days of travel, making an average of about fourteen miles a day.

AT THE RENDEZVOUS

The caravan was accustomed to remain about two weeks at the rendezvous before starting back. During

¹⁷ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 74.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

this time the mountain men exchanged their furs for supplies, as did some of the Indians who also gathered at the rendezvous at the same time. Parker and Whitman found about 2,000 Snake Indians,¹⁹ forty lodges of Flatheads and Nez Perces, and a few Utahs.²⁰ Parker was disappointed to see that there was "nothing peculiar in the shape of the Flathead Indians to give them their name."²¹

This annual summer meeting was the one big social event in the life of the trapper. There was carousing and drinking and gambling and horse racing. Kit Carson was there that summer. One day a mountain bully challenged him to a duel. Kit Carson proved to be the better shot and made the bully beg for his life.

The missionaries were impressed with the hard life of the mountain men. Very few ever returned to civilization. Captain Wyeth once told Parker that of the more than two hundred men who had been with him in the mountains, only thirty or forty were then known to be alive.²² Upon inquiry Parker found that the life of the trappers and hunters averaged about three years. And yet the chances of great gain were so alluring that the fur companies had no difficulty in finding men.²³

The news that a doctor was at the rendezvous spread quickly. The day after their arrival Whitman extracted a three-inch iron arrowhead from the back of the famous mountaineer, James Bridger, who had received it in a skirmish with the Blackfeet Indians three years previous. A friendship began that day between Whitman and Bridger that continued until Whitman's tragic death. Parker wrote in his Journal that "calls for sur-

¹⁹ The Snake River is named after the Snake Indians. Brosnan, *History of Idaho*, p. 22, states that the name is a misnomer, and was due to a misinterpretation of the sign language. The Indians intended to convey the idea of grass weaving.

²⁰ Whitman, Journal, for August 12, 1835.

²¹ Parker, Journal, p. 76.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 175.

²³ Spalding letter No. 11. "Captain Wyeth told me that out of 200 or 300 men who had been in his employ in the mountains, but thirty-six now remained alive, nearly all the rest had lost their lives by the Indians."

gical and medical aid were constant every hour in the day."²⁴

CONFERENCES WITH THE INDIANS

On Sunday, August 16, the missionaries met with some of the principal men of the Nez Perce and Flathead tribes and explained the purpose of their mission. Undoubtedly they made reference to the Nez Perce delegation which had visited St. Louis in 1831-32. The missionaries were fortunate in finding a mountain man by the name of Charles Compo, who had sufficient knowledge of the Nez Perce language to serve as an interpreter.

The Indians showed the greatest eagerness for teachers to be sent to their people. One of the chiefs by the name of Insula, whom Parker described as "the most influential chief among the Flathead nation," told of how he and some of his people had ridden out three days to meet the incoming caravan, with which were Parker and Whitman, but had missed them. A war party of the Crow Indians had fallen upon this welcoming committee and had taken Insula's favorite horse, "which he greatly loved, but now he forgets all, his heart is made glad to see a man near to God."²⁵

Another chief arose in the conference that the missionaries had with the Indians and said: "He was old, and did not expect to know much more; he was deaf and could not hear, but his heart was made glad, very glad, to see what he had never seen before, a man near to God (meaning a minister of the gospel)."

And then Tai-quin-watish, the first chief of the Nez Percés, arose and told how he had learned a little about God from the white men but that which he had heard had but gone into his ears. He wanted to know enough "to have it go down into his heart." Others spoke in a similar manner and made as many promises of assistance as the missionaries could desire. The conference broke up after the missionaries promised to talk over the matter and meet with them the next day.²⁶

²⁴ Parker, *Journal*, p. 77.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

· WHITMAN SENT BACK FOR REËNFORCEMENTS

Parker and Whitman were greatly moved by the evident eagerness, on the part of the two tribes, for missionaries. They definitely learned that the Methodist missionaries had settled in the Willamette Valley. Parker and Whitman prayed for divine guidance. So urgent did the establishment of a mission among the Nez Percés and Flatheads appear to be that they discussed how it might be possible to save time in the accomplishment of that objective.

In an unguarded moment of enthusiasm Whitman exclaimed: "If there were only another to go with you, I would return with the caravan and come out next year with reënforcements." Parker immediately seconded the idea. By doing that a whole year could be saved. Parker proposed going on alone with the Indians, exploring the country, and then returning the next summer to meet Whitman with the reënforcements at the rendezvous.

The more Whitman thought about the idea, the more he doubted the wisdom of the plan. Parker was then fifty-six years old, a man of culture and refinement. Parker was proposing to do something which few, if any, of the hardened mountain men would do. Whitman asked: "What would the people back home say if something should happen to you?" To this Parker replied: "Give yourself no uneasiness upon this subject; for we could not go safely together without divine protection, and with it, I can go alone."²⁷ It was proposed that Parker hire Compo and one of the Indians to serve as an interpreter and servant. With such an understanding, Whitman agreed to return.

The next day the two men met with the chiefs as they had agreed. The Indians expressed great satisfaction with the idea of Whitman's going back after more workers. They readily promised to furnish the necessary escort for Parker, and they renewed their plea for teachers to come and live with them.

²⁷ Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 78. Whitman, *Journal*, O.H.Q., Vol. 28, p. 248.

Since the Indians were eager to be on their way, the two missionaries had but four days to complete their arrangements. During this time Whitman was busy with his medical work thrust upon him by the mountain men who had gone for years without a doctor's care. He seized every opportunity to learn all that he could about the Nez Perces and Flatheads. He learned that although each tribe had its own language, yet they lived on the best possible terms. Roughly speaking, their countries were divided by the Bitterroot mountain range.

Whitman met with a Nez Perce boy named Tackitonitis who spoke a little English, and conceived the idea of taking the boy with him back to the States, thus giving him a chance to learn English more perfectly. Then when the missionaries were located in their stations, such a boy could serve as an interpreter. The boy was willing to go, and permission was easily secured. The next day, one of the Nez Perce chiefs brought his son and begged Whitman to take him too. Whitman was reluctant to take the second, named Ais, but Parker encouraged him to do so, and Whitman consented. The two were renamed Richard and John.²⁸

During their last days together, Parker wrote letters to the American Board and to relatives and friends, which Whitman carried back to the States. On Friday, August 21, the Indians moved their camp three miles. Whitman accompanied Parker and spent the night with him. On Saturday morning, the two missionaries parted never to meet again.²⁹ Whitman described the parting as follows:

Mr. Parker went on this morning, after we had unitedly sought the blessing and guidance of God. He went on with firmness, I regretted exceedingly to see him go alone, but so we have decided, hoping more fully to advance the cause of our divine master."³⁰

Both Parker and Whitman, in their respective journals, stress the fact that the reason for Whitman's re-

²⁸ Captain Wyeth had taken two boys east with him in 1833. See Bang, *History of the M. E. Church*, Vol. 4, p. 163.

²⁹ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 309-310, maintains that Whitman did not visit Ithaca.

³⁰ Whitman, *Journal*, *O.H.Q.*, Vol. 28, p. 250.

turn was the belief that the mission to the Nez Perces and Flatheads could be speeded up at least one year by his so doing. Gray intimates that there was a clash of personalities.³¹ Evidence for this is to be found in one of Whitman's letters,³² yet both men were of bigger caliber than to permit this to separate them.

But may there not have been still another reason? From Liberty, Missouri, Whitman had written back to the girl who had wanted to go with him, and Whitman had regretted that he had not taken her along. Now every doubt had been satisfied. Wagons could be taken across the mountains! Whitman knew of the fact that one summer twenty wagons had been at the rendezvous. Where wagons could go, women could go. True, it had never been done, but what mattered that to one who had the spirit and conviction of Narcissa Prentiss? Eagerly, Whitman looked forward to the return trip.

PARKER'S EXPLORATIONS

With Parker and the Indians was a detachment of fifty trappers under Captain Bridger who were on their way to the Jackson Hole country. On Sunday, August 23, the party of Indians and mountain men paused to rest, undoubtedly in deference to the wishes of Mr. Parker. In the afternoon Parker conducted a religious service for Bridger's men. Parker wrote of the service: "The men conducted (themselves) with great propriety and listened with attention." The site of this service has been identified as being at the south entrance of Hoback Canyon along the highway leading from Pinedale to Jackson, Wyoming. It has been marked with a ten-ton granite boulder.³³

Parker did not record in his Journal an incident which was recorded by another observer. In the midst

³¹ W. H. Gray returned with Whitman the next year. In 1870 he published his *History of Oregon*, which must be read with caution.

³² Whitman to Greene, May 10, 1839. Coll. A.

³³ According to Rev. H. K. Fulton, Rawlins, Wyo. The monument was dedicated by the Synod of Wyoming (Presbyterian), August 25, 1935.

of the discourse a band of buffalo suddenly appeared in the valley. Without waiting for the benediction, every man rushed for his gun and horse and made off after the game. It is reported that about twenty-five buffalo were killed. Parker rebuked the "sabbath-breakers" for their failure to observe the day as he felt it should be. Then later he ate some buffalo tenderloin, after which some of the men accused him of being as guilty as they were themselves.⁸⁴

On the 30th, Bridger and his men parted from the Indians. Parker then began his religious training of the Nez Perces by teaching them the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. He made the Indians repeat them back to him through the interpreter, thus making sure that they had the passages properly memorized. On September 5, Parker's band of Indians joined forces with another Nez Perce band under Chief Charle, who expressed much joy upon seeing the missionary.

On Sunday, September 6, Parker conducted a service for the Indians, who numbered between four and five hundred. His Journal contains a lengthy and interesting account of that service, perhaps the first Christian service ever conducted for any considerable group of the Nez Perces. Parker had explained the significance of the commandment: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy," so the entire Indian encampment refrained from moving on that day. They constructed a long room out of their lodgepoles and buffalo hides that measured one hundred by twenty feet, and in that room the chiefs assembled the people, arranging them in rows in a kneeling position with a central aisle. When all was arranged they ushered in their white guests. Parker was astonished at the preparations and much affected by the eagerness of the Indians to receive the Christian message.⁸⁵

The route usually followed by the Nez Perces to and from the rendezvous was over what is now known as the Old Nez Perce Trail. This trail appears to have been the one that Parker and the Indians followed. On the 27th

⁸⁴ Victor, *River of the West*, p. 187.

⁸⁵ Parker, *Journal*, pp. 97-8.

of September, the Indians and Parker were in the vicinity of Kamiah. As they drew near, Chief Charle took Compo and hunted out Parker and said to him:

We are now near our country, and when we come into it, I wish you to look it over and see if it is good for missionaries to live in. I know but little about God—my people know but little—I wish my people to know more about God.³⁶

By October 1 the party had reached the confluence of the Clearwater and the Snake, where Lewiston, Idaho, now is. Parker noted that the place had many advantages for a missionary station. By the 6th, he and his companions had reached Fort Walla Walla, a Hudson's Bay post on the Columbia River, about ten miles below the mouth of the Snake. There Parker was warmly welcomed by the factor in charge, Mr. P. C. Pambrun. Parker left Compo there with the understanding that they would meet again in the spring. Parker completed his journey by water, arriving at Fort Vancouver on the 16th day of October.

It was a remarkable trip for a man of his age to take. He was fifty-six days alone with the Indians. He suffered many hardships. Once while passing through some very mountainous country he became ill, and bled himself. At times he wondered if he would come through alive. He boasted of the fact that "in no case did I suffer [from want of food], nor in any case was I brought to the necessity of eating dogs or horse flesh."³⁷ The Nez Perces treated him with kindness and respect.

Parker met Dr. John McLoughlin³⁸ at Vancouver, who ruled as chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Northwest. Dr. McLoughlin was a medical man, and one who exercised great influence with both the white people and the Indians of Old Oregon. Parker spent an enjoyable winter in McLoughlin's company at Vancouver.

In April, 1836, Parker started back. He returned to Walla Walla and to the Nez Perces. On May 13, he

³⁶ Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

³⁸ B. Oct. 19, 1784. D. Sept. 3, 1857.

camped again at the mouth of the Clearwater, then called the Koos-koos-ky. After meeting with the Indians on the lower Columbia, Parker could not help but notice the superior quality of the Nez Perces:

After having been several months where the Indians of the lower country came daily under my observation, the contrast between them and these with whom I now am, is very noticeable. The former are more servile and abject, both in their manners and spirit; while the latter are truly dignified and respectable in their manners and general appearance, far less enslaved to their appetites, or to those vices whose inevitable tendency is to degrade. They know enough to set some estimate upon character, and have much of the proud independence of freemen.³⁹

During his contacts with the Nez Perces, Parker met a chief by the name of Teutakas (or Teutacus).⁴⁰ Once, after holding a religious service, Parker asked his interpreter the reaction of Charle and Teutacus. The interpreter replied: "Charle prayed with his lips but Teutacus prayed with his heart."⁴¹

While camped with the Nez Perces, Parker debated as to whether he should return to the rendezvous and meet Whitman and the outcoming missionaries or not. This was the original plan, but the thought of going over the mountains again rather appalled him. He said that if the Indians had been willing to return by the southern route, that is, along the Snake River through what is now southern Idaho, he would have gone.⁴² The Indians, however, wished to go their accustomed way. Finally Parker decided to return to Vancouver and take passage on a ship to Boston, going around the Horn.

Before going back to Vancouver, Parker visited the Spokane Indians, where Spokane Garry interpreted for him. He went as far north as the Hudson's Bay post at Fort Colville.⁴³ He then returned to Vancouver and on

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁴⁰ Gray, *Oregon*, p. 109, confused "Teutakas" with Tackitonitis, the boy whom Whitman renamed Richard, and took with him to the States.

⁴¹ Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

⁴² Whitman to Greene, May 10, 1839, Coll. A., claims that Parker had two opportunities to go by the southern route.

⁴³ Originally spelled with one "l" after Andrew Colville.

the 21st of June sailed from Astoria in the *Columbia*.⁴⁴ He left the Sandwich Islands on January 21, 1837, and arrived at New London, Connecticut, May 18, 1837. He was absent from his home for about two years and two months and traveled about twenty-eight thousand miles. In his Journal he speaks in the highest terms of the kindness received at the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company's men.

It is a debatable question as to how much good Parker's tour did for those who followed him. Whitman maintained that it did him and his associates no good whatsoever.⁴⁵ After returning home, however, Parker did a great deal of good for the Oregon mission cause in the information he brought back. He wrote a book which went through five American editions, and one English edition. It is reported that 20,000 copies were sold, and that he lectured more than sixteen hundred times on Oregon. Parker thus made a tremendous contribution to the growing interest in the Oregon missions, and thus stimulated not only the churches to give to that cause, but also colonists to go and make their homes in that distant land.

⁴⁴ See Eells on Parker, *Whitman Coll. Quart.*, Vol. 2, No. 3.

⁴⁵ Whitman to Greene, May 10, 1839.

CHAPTER FIVE

WHITMAN FINDS SPALDING

ON August 22, 1835, Marcus Whitman and Samuel Parker parted at the rendezvous. With mingled emotions of fear and hope, Whitman mounted his horse to join the Fur Company's caravan on its way back to St. Louis. Was he doing right in letting Parker go on alone? On the other hand, there was the desire to start mission work as soon as possible.

According to Whitman, Parker took with him the two pack animals and the lion's share of the equipment. Whitman had nothing more than his horse, his blankets, and a few personal belongings. He felt it necessary to buy another horse just when he was nearly out of funds. The price of an ordinary horse at the rendezvous was one hundred dollars. The best that Whitman could do under the circumstances was to buy a wreck of a horse for five dollars. Whitman wrote to Greene that the horse "was a disgrace to any man to pack on account of his extreme sore back. So you see me on my way home."¹ Whitman felt a little disgruntled over Parker's insistence upon having both of the pack animals.

On the 27th of August the caravan, laden with furs received in exchange for the goods brought from civilization, started back to St. Louis. They reached the Black Hills fort on September 8, making the return trip to that point several days more quickly than they had made the trip out. By the 23rd, the caravan reached the buffalo range. There they paused for three days in order to secure and dry enough buffalo meat to give them food until they could reach civilization. By the 10th of October, Whitman met Dunbar and Allis near Council Bluffs, and he wrote of the joy they had in "social worship and intercourse."² Whitman told of his hope to secure reinforcements, and incidentally of his desire to

¹ Whitman to Greene, May 10, 1839. Coll. A.

² Whitman, Journal, *O.H.Q.*, Vol. 28, p. 251.

get married and have Narcissa return with him. Both Dunbar and Allis were also engaged. They made arrangements with Whitman to have their fiancées accompany his party to Liberty the next spring.

Whitman pushed on, arriving at St. Louis on November 4. *En route* he stopped at Cantonment Leavenworth, where he talked with Col. Dodge about the feasibility of taking wagons over the mountains. Col. Dodge had conducted military expeditions into the West, taking cannon with him, and was then planning to lead an expedition to the Pacific coast, expecting to take cannon all the way. This seemed to Whitman to be additional justification for his plan to take a wagon, thus giving suitable accommodations for women.

Whitman reached his home in Rushville some time during the early part of December. The two Indian boys were placed in schools. John Ais lived with the Parker family in Ithaca, while Richard Tackitonitis stayed with the Whitmans at Rushville. During the winter the Indians learned English to a sufficient extent to enable them later to act as interpreters for the missionaries.

THE SEARCH FOR WORKERS

While passing through St. Louis, Whitman wrote to Greene, stating why he had turned back and pleading for additional workers. Whitman's plea came at a favorable time, for the year 1835-36 was one of considerable expansion for the American Board. Receipts increased by \$12,891.96 over the previous year. More qualified men and women were offering themselves for appointment than ever before.³

Greene replied to Whitman on December 4, and told of two couples who might be available. They were the Rev. and Mrs. O. S. Powell, friends of Narcissa Prentiss, and Rev. and Mrs. Daniel Clark. On the 17th of December Whitman wrote again to Greene. For some reason he had not at that time received Greene's letter of the 4th, and Whitman was getting impatient. Regarding the possibility of taking women, he wrote:

³ *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 33, pp. 3-4.

We can go as far as the Black Hills with a wagon for the convenience of females and from that to rendezvous we should go with horses and should be compelled to travel say 30 miles a day, but the travelling would be good and the weather fine as it seldom rains at that season in the vicinity of the mountains. At rendezvous we expect to meet Mr. Parker on his return. This would be performed at the rate of from 10 to 20 miles per day, the usual distance for Indians to travel.⁴

Whitman sent in his Journal, describing his trip of the previous summer, with this letter of the 17th. At the end of the Journal is an undated postscript in which Whitman wrote:

I received a letter yesterday from H. H. Spalding saying he would be ready to accompany me across the mountains if the Board should approve of it.⁵

We do not know just when Whitman first learned of the possibility of securing the Spaldings for his mission. Perhaps Narcissa told him, for she had long known Henry and knew that he was under appointment. It is altogether probable that Whitman and Spalding first met in the fore part of December, 1835, for Rushville is only about twenty miles from Prattsburg.

The Board's committee on Indian missions met in Boston, January 5, 1836. The next day Greene wrote to Whitman to inform him that the Board would approve of "an ordained missionary, a teacher or catechist, & a man able to labor as a farmer, & mechanic" to accompany him on his return trip. Families with children could not go. The Powells, friends of Narcissa Prentiss, were ruled out by that wise condition, for a child had been born to them. The Board approved the idea of having Miss Esther Smith, engaged to Dunbar, and Miss Emeline Palmer, engaged to Allis, return with Whitman. Dr. Benedict Satterlee was also appointed as a missionary to the Pawnees. Greene gave the following advice to Whitman: "Better go alone than with unsuitable associates, therefore use great caution in finding & recommending men."⁶

⁴ Whitman to Greene, Dec. 17, 1835. Coll. A.

⁵ Whitman to Greene, *ibid.* Greene acknowledged receipt of the Journal in a letter to Whitman dated Dec. 30, 1835.

⁶ Greene to Whitman, Coll. A.

On January 15, Greene again wrote to Whitman, making mention of Mr. Clark of New York, whom the Board regarded as "the man best fitted, in all respects to accompany you on your return trip to the western Indians, and hope that he will be able to be ready in season." Regarding Spalding, Greene wrote: "The same objection we suppose to lie against Mr. and Mrs. Spalding, which you mention in the case of the Powells." Greene had no other names to suggest as possible associates.⁷

Precious time was slipping away without any definite appointment being made. Whitman was becoming more and more concerned. He wanted to leave by the 25th of February in order to have plenty of time to get to Liberty, Missouri, before the caravan left. He wrote to Clark but received no reply. He wrote to Mr. Chauncey Eddy of Utica, who served as a field secretary of the American Board, asking him to help in finding suitable associates. Eddy delayed in replying.

In the meantime Clark wrote to Greene, definitely declining to go to the Flatheads and Nez Perces. He wanted to establish a mission at Astoria instead.⁸ With a heavy heart Greene wrote to Whitman on January 22 and after telling of Clark's refusal, he wrote:

I do not know where to look for a missionary to accompany you, unless Mr. Spaulding should go. His child, (as I understand he has one) will be a hindrance; and it seems to me that no person with an infant child should go to such a work. Besides I have some doubt whether his temperament well fits him for intercourse with the traders and travellers in that region. As to laboriousness, self-denial, energy and perseverance, I presume that few men are better qualified than he. After consulting with Mr. Eddy, you can, if both of you think best, confer further with him on the subject;—that is, in case the child will not stand in the way. He is probably now making his arrangements to go to the Osages, about the time that you go on yr journey. Perhaps you may have heard of some other person who will go as an ordained missionary.⁹

⁷ Coll. A.

⁸ Clark to Greene, Jan. 15, 1836. Coll. A.

⁹ I located this letter after some difficulty in Vol. 17, Domestic Correspondence, pp. 523-524, Coll. A. The letter was not indexed by page.—C.M.D.

Whitman replied to this letter on January 29, evidently the very day the letter arrived. Regarding the Spaldings, he said:

Your allusion to Mr. Spalding is not correct; they lost their child by death some time since. They expect to be in Prattsburgh where I can see him if desired.¹⁰

The Spaldings were then in Holland Patent, paying their last visit to the Hart family before leaving for the Osages. They expected to visit friends in Prattsburg in the first part of February, which fact was known to Whitman.

On February 5 Greene again wrote to Whitman. It appears that Greene had made another effort to persuade Clark to go, but without effect. The only possibility at that late date was Spalding, and he was a second choice. Greene's reluctance in recommending Spalding threw the burden of the selection upon Whitman. He was vague and indefinite about the possibility of having the Spaldings change their destination. He wrote: "Respecting the change of his destination, we are held in suspense by the uncertainty which still hangs over the fate of the Osages." The uncertainty referred to the treaty which the Government was negotiating with the Osages, then still unsigned. Greene knew the urgency of the occasion as far as Whitman was concerned, but he had no advice to give. The final decision was Whitman's.

THE HOWARD MEETING

Whitman was still hoping to leave by the 25th of February. He felt that he had to go. Parker was expecting him, and so were the Indians. Then, too, he had the two Nez Perce boys with him who had to be sent back that summer. And still no one had been found! Greene wrote on the 5th. Sometimes it took a week for a letter to go from Boston to Rushville.¹¹ Whitman must have received Greene's letter about the 12th. The letter brought little hope except the sentence: "Respecting the

¹⁰ Coll. A.

¹¹ Greene to Whitman, Feb. 27, 1836. "Yrs. of the 15th from Rushville was eight days on the way." Coll. A.

change of his [Spalding's] destination, we are held in suspense . . . " Whereas Greene had not definitely instructed Whitman to inform Spalding that Spalding's destination could be changed, still he had not written to the contrary. Whitman considered that the Spaldings were his only hope.

He left immediately for Prattsburg, hoping to catch the Spaldings there. From the fragmentary evidence available bearing upon the chronology of these events, it appears that Whitman reached Prattsburg on Saturday, the 13th, only to find that the Spaldings had left the day before. He may have spent the night there, and then thinking that the urgency of the occasion justified traveling on the Sabbath, continued the next day. Spalding definitely stated that Whitman overtook them on the 14th.¹²

If the supposition that Spalding preached in the Howard church on Sunday, the 14th, be true, then it is probable that Whitman learned of that engagement before leaving Prattsburg in pursuit of Spalding. The Spaldings had engaged a room in the inn at Howard, and it was there that Whitman found them and persuaded them to go with him to Old Oregon.¹³ Spalding described that memorable interview in a letter to Greene dated February 17, 1836, as follows:

The second day after I started Dr. Whitman overtook me having been in pursuit of me two or three days. He immediately communicated his object. It was to persuade me to alter my destiny to the Rocky Mountains. He says the objection that lay in your assent to my going to the Mountains was the idea that we had a child. We have no child, as he has already stated. He says this removed and you are perfectly willing the destiny should be changed. He said all the other attempts to obtain a clergyman have failed and that if I refused, the Mission to the Rocky Mountains must be abandoned, at least for the present. Everything

¹² Spalding letter No. 6. Mrs. Spalding in her Diary stated that the interview took place on the 20th, but Mrs. Spalding is frequently mistaken about her dates in her Diary.

¹³ *Ex. Doc. Senate* No. 37, p. 9, gives an account by Spalding of this interview. Since this account was written many years later from memory, it does not possess the accuracy of contemporaneous material.

considered, though I had left my friends and made arrangements to go to Boudinot, I felt it my duty to consent to his request...¹⁴

Whitman was importunate. He told of the eagerness of the Indians for missionaries and of his promise to meet them with reinforcements at the rendezvous in the summer of 1836. If Spalding did not consent, then the mission would have to be postponed for a year.¹⁵ That was logical, for Dr. Whitman would hardly have planned to take his wife and go alone without another married couple. Spalding made inquiries about traveling conditions and learned that his wagon, which he was planning to take to Boudinot, could be taken. Whitman assured him that it was possible to take the wagon to the rendezvous and perhaps even further.

It was a big decision to make on so short notice. They knelt in prayer. Mrs. Spalding was in frail health from her sickness of the previous fall, and so the final decision was left to her. She went into the room they had engaged and knelt alone in prayer. When her husband went to learn of her decision, she reminded him of her covenant with her God "to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." The decision was made—the Spaldings were to go to Old Oregon with the Whitmans!

COMPLICATIONS BEGIN

When Spalding learned that Marcus Whitman was engaged to Narcissa Prentiss and that there was some talk about the Whitmans and Spaldings going together to the same mission, he said publicly: "I will not go into the same mission with Narcissa for I question her judgment."¹⁶ It is not known just when Spalding made this

¹⁴ Spalding letter No. 6.

¹⁵ Mrs. Spalding, Diary, for Feb. 20: "He had failed in every other attempt to obtain some one to go out with him in the capacity of a minister, and if he did not succeed in getting Mr. Spalding to engage in this expedition he should relinquish the idea of going out this season." Coll. W.

¹⁶ A. B. Smith to Greene, Sept. 3, 1840. "Mr. Spalding had published from town to town before he left the States that he would not go on a mission with Mrs. Whitman." Coll. A. Spalding, Diary, July 9, 1840: "That the root of all the difficulties in the

unfortunate remark; it may have been before the meeting with Whitman at Howard. There is no evidence that there had ever been any love affair between Henry and Narcissa; but it appears that something had happened to bring about an estrangement between the two. That remark of Spalding's proved to be an important link in the chain of subsequent events.

Whitman appears to have been ignorant of the remark or of any estranged feeling between Henry and Narcissa at the time he pleaded with Spalding to accompany him to Oregon. Or if he was aware of it, he was then willing to overlook it. Busybodies, who delight in spreading choice bits of gossip, hastened to carry Spalding's impetuous remark to the Prentiss family. "Do you know what Henry Spalding said? He said that he wouldn't go on a mission with Narcissa for he questioned her judgment!" Naturally Judge and Mrs. Prentiss were much concerned.

THE SPALDINGS CONTINUE THEIR JOURNEY

Since the Spaldings were on their way to the Osages in western Missouri, there was no necessity for them to alter their route of travel. Should the Board approve of their plan to accompany Whitman, all that would be necessary would be for the Board to send a letter authorizing the change of plans to the Spaldings at some point *en route*. Since Whitman was eager to be on his way, it was agreed that the Spaldings should tarry at Cincinnati for the Whitmans.

Both Whitman and Spalding wrote in to the Board about the meeting at Howard. Whitman wrote on February 15 saying:

Mission lay between us, viz.: in an expression I made while in the states respecting his wife before she was married to Dr. Whitman, Viz.: that I would not go into the same Mission with her, questioning her judgment." Coll. W. Gray in his letter to the Board of Oct. 14, 1840, also makes mention of this remark. Coll. A. Mrs. Whitman to Mrs. Walker, in a letter dated March 8, 1841, wrote: "I do not wonder that brother Spalding if he saw this trait in my character felt that he could not come into the field if I did." Coll. W.

I saw Mr. Spalding on his way to the Osages. He consented to accompany me if the Board saw fit to alter his destination. . . . I am willing to accompany Mr. Spalding as an associate, yet I know little of his peculiar adaptedness to that station.¹⁷

The last sentence of this quotation suggests that there was some doubt in Whitman's mind as to the advisability of accepting Spalding. Perhaps Whitman remembered Greene's warning, "Better go alone than with unsuitable associates."

Spalding wrote on the 17th from Jamestown, New York:

I hope you will write me at Cincinnati giving to myself and wife our charge and instructions, etc. Be assured dear Brother we feel quite inadequate to the great work, but God we hope will be our strength and wisdom.¹⁸

The road from Howard to Jamestown could easily have taken the Spaldings through Angelica, where the Prentiss family then lived. As soon as Whitman had secured Spalding's consent, it is assumed that he hurried to Angelica to tell Narcissa. There may have been a family consultation as to the advisability of having the Spaldings go along. It appears that Judge Prentiss had an interview with Spalding—perhaps as the Spaldings passed through Angelica—in which the Judge talked the matter over with Henry. This assumption is based on a statement made by Narcissa in a letter to her parents written October 14, 1840. She wrote:

The man who came with us is one who never ought to have come. . . . This pretended settlement with father, before we started, was only an excuse, and from all we have seen and heard, both during the journey and since we have been here, the same bitter feeling exists.¹⁹

The whole theory of a love affair between Henry and Narcissa is based almost entirely upon that passage. Some think they can read between the lines a romance which never existed.

¹⁷ Whitman to Greene, Feb. 15, 1836. Coll. A.

¹⁸ Spalding letter No. 6.

¹⁹ *Transactions of Oregon Pioneer Association* (hereafter referred to as *T.O.P.A.*), 1893, p. 129.

THE JOURNEY TO CINCINNATI

Spalding had secured someone at Prattsburg who owned a team of horses, to drive him to Pittsburgh. At Jamestown, Spalding dismissed his driver and continued the journey with a team he purchased for \$130.00. For part of the journey, the wagon was made over into an improvised sleigh, but mild weather melted the snow, and the roads became a sea of mud and slush. Spalding described his experiences to Greene in the following words:

...the going became dreadful could go but about fifteen miles a day. Mrs. S's health suffered considerable, and one of the horses was taken sick, this with the hard going reduced him considerable.²⁰

They paused to visit their friends the Allens of Kinsman, Ohio, in all probability spending Sunday, February 21, in their home.²¹ The sixty miles which separated Kinsman from Pittsburgh were especially bad, and they did not reach their destination until Friday, February 26. Mrs. Spalding in her Diary wrote of the "tedious journey of two weeks" which took them from Prattsburg to Pittsburgh.

On Sunday, the 28th, Spalding preached in the Third Presbyterian Church and was warmly welcomed by the pastor, the Rev. D. D. Riddle. There in Pittsburgh Spalding had the good fortune to meet George Catlin, the painter, who had been west on an expedition in 1832. It was Catlin who painted the survivors of the Nez Perce delegation of 1831-32. Spalding questioned him regarding the conditions in the Far West. When Catlin learned that Spalding and Whitman were going to take their wives with them, he advised against it. Spalding wrote to Greene about the interview as follows:

²⁰ Spalding letter No. 7.

²¹ Dr. Peter Allen was a well-known pioneer physician of the Western Reserve. His son, Dudley Allen, graduated from Western Reserve College in 1832, and from the Ohio Medical College at Cincinnati in 1837. His son Dudley Peter Allen, for whom there is a \$300,000 Memorial Library at Oberlin, was a graduate of Oberlin and of Howard Medical College. He became a prominent surgeon of Cleveland, and a professor of Western Reserve University.

He says he would not attempt to take a white female into that country for the whole continent of Am: for two reasons. The first, the enthusiastic desire to see a white woman every where prevailing among the distant tribes, may terminate in unrestrained passion consequently in her ruin and the ruin of the establishment. We made this known to Mrs. S., but she replied unmoved: she would trust in God and go forward without fear... 2nd the fatigues of the journey he thinks will destroy them. 1400 miles from the mouth of the Platt, on pack horses, rivers to swim, and every night to spend in the open air, hot sun and storms, the buffalo meat we can live on doubtless. But this like the other objections you see is supposed. No females has yet made the attempt. I hope we shall be able to take waggons.²²

This letter to Greene was mailed at Marietta, Ohio, and was dated March 2. In reply Greene wrote to Spalding at Independence, Missouri:

I do not think that you or your wife will find your ride laborious & protracted, to be peculiarly unpleasant or deleterious to your health. Nor do I apprehend any danger of the kind Mr. Catlin suggested, from the Indians. The females will, I think, be rather a protection than otherwise.²³

In 1840, Catlin issued his book telling of his trip to the Far West. By that time he had learned of the successful crossing of the mountains by the missionaries and of their cordial reception by the Indians. He then wrote in a different strain:

I had long been of the opinion, that to ensure success the exertions of pious men should be carried into the heart of the wilderness, beyond the reach and influence of civilized vices; and I so expressed my opinions to the Reverend Mr. Spalding and his lady, in Pittsburgh when on their way, in their first Tour of that distant country.²⁴

Spalding found it necessary to sell his horses at Pittsburgh, taking a loss of thirty dollars on that transaction. He secured passage for himself and wife on the river steamer *Arabian*, which left Pittsburgh on Monday, February 29. He shipped his light wagon and other goods through to St. Louis. Captain Forsyth, whom Spalding described as "a Presbyterian," reduced their fare to one-

²² Spalding letter No. 7.

²³ Greene to Spalding, Coll. A.

²⁴ Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. 2, p. 124.

half the usual amount, thus saving the Spaldings twelve dollars.

The river steamers of that day made about fifty or seventy-five miles a day. They made many stops and usually tied up at night. On the second of March, the steamer was at Marietta, Ohio, and reached Cincinnati about the fourth of the month. The Whitmans did not arrive until the eighteenth. During the intervening two weeks, the Spaldings visited their friends at Walnut Hills and at Lane Theological Seminary.²⁵

MARCUS AND NARCISSA MARRIED

Spalding's willingness to have his destination changed from the Osage Indians to the Nez Perces made it possible for Marcus and Narcissa to proceed with their plans to be married. The wedding service took place in the Presbyterian Church of Angelica on Thursday evening, February 18, 1836.²⁶ Rev. Leverett Hull, pastor of the church, officiated. It is presumed that they went to Ithaca, where they got the Nez Perce boy who had been living in the Parker home, and then went to Rushville. Whitman wrote to Greene from Rushville on March 3, saying that they were getting started that day.²⁷

Surely it was with heavy hearts that Marcus and Narcissa said goodbye to their relatives and friends. Narcissa, like Eliza, never returned. *En route* to Pittsburgh, the Whitmans overtook Dr. and Mrs. Benedict Satterlee, near Williamsport, Pennsylvania. Mrs. Satterlee was even then very ill and should not have made such a trip. The party arrived in Pittsburgh Saturday, March 12, having made the trip by stage.

²⁵ In recent years this seminary has been merged with the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of Chicago.

²⁶ The building burned in 1868. Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, gives the wrong picture, p. 30. It has been commonly supposed that the Whitmans were married at the close of a Sunday evening service, although the exact date has not been given. Bashford, *The Oregon Missions*, p. 234, says it was before Feb. 7. This is a mistake. A recently discovered letter of Whitman to Greene, Coll. A., March 3, 1836, definitely states that the marriage was on Feb. 18.

²⁷ Whitman to Greene, March 3, 1836. Coll. A.

UNITED PARTY AT CINCINNATI

On Tuesday morning, March 15, the Whitman party of six boarded the steamboat *Siam* for Cincinnati. They left at 10:00 a. m. that day and arrived at their destination on Friday, March 18. The Spaldings were waiting rather anxiously for their arrival. In all probability Eliza and Narcissa had met before, but their close association with each other began with that meeting at Cincinnati. A couple of weeks later Narcissa wrote to her sister Jane saying:

I like her very much. She wears well upon acquaintance. She is a very suitable person for Mr. Spalding—has the right temperament to match him. I think we shall get along very well together; we have so far.²⁸

On Sunday, March 20, they attended church in Cincinnati and heard Dr. Lyman Beecher. Narcissa wrote her impressions: "He is a small man, quite indifferent in his appearance. I could hardly believe it was he when I saw him come." She also tells of the warm welcome which they received and reported: "[We] had a very interesting time with the disciples of Jesus there; felt strengthened and comforted as we left them, to pursue our journey into the wilderness."²⁹

One incident took place which somewhat marred the joy of those days for Whitman. It appears that Spalding was to address a meeting in which in his missionary zeal he wanted to say something especially for Dr. Beecher's benefit. Beecher, however, learned of it and did not go. Whitman "was much grieved . . . at Mr. Spalding's conduct."³⁰ Spalding wrote his view of the incident in a letter from Fort Walla Walla on October 2, 1836, as follows:

Call my anxiety which I coldly expressed for the poor heathen when in the states, enthusiasm, madness or any other name which closed up the pulpit in my beloved Seminary against me as I passed last spring, and gave occasion for my beloved father in

²⁸ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 85.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³⁰ A. B. Smith to Greene, Sept. 3, 1840. Coll. A.

theology and one of the professors to absent themselves from the celebration of our departure, held in the Cong. Church of Cincinnati.³¹

On February 25, Greene wrote to Spalding, addressing the letter to Cincinnati. He acknowledged Spalding's letter of February 17 and gave full approval to the plan of having the Spaldings accompany the Whitmans. The letter is filled with friendly and wise counsel.

You can do little or nothing for the accomplishment of your object till you shall have acquired the language; and for this you will have probably few, if any, other helps than what the Indians themselves can afford. You must *associate* with them, compel yourselves to learn their words, & to express your thoughts in them. . . . Little can be accomplished by schools at present, though we hope that ultimately that branch of labor may be advantageously introduced.

Greene also gave good advice as to possible contacts with the rough and ungodly mountain men.

You will always treat them with the utmost Christian courtesy & kindness . . . Be patient, mild, forbearing . . . Show forth under all circumstances the loveliness of the gospel . . . You will have no Christian community or public sentiment around you to hold you up. All will be of an opposite tendency. You must draw directly from God & must be living epistles from him. . . . May he dwell with you, travel with you, protect you, & give you great success to all your labors, comforting & encouraging you in all your emergencies.³²

With this official permission received from Greene, all obstacles were removed. The Spaldings were definitely appointed to the Oregon mission with the Whitmans.

³¹ Spalding letter No. 12. A copy appeared in the *O.H.Q.*, Dec., 1912, pp. 371 ff., but this has many errors.

³² The original, received by Spalding at Cincinnati and carried by him across the plains and over the mountains, was discovered in the Whitman College collection.—C.M.D.

CHAPTER SIX

CINCINNATI TO THE RENDEZVOUS

ON Tuesday noon, March 22, 1836, the three couples¹ and the two Nez Perce boys took passage on the steamboat *Junius* for St. Louis. Spalding wrote to Greene on May 20, mentioning the fact, among other items, that the captain, "a Baptist," had reduced the fare for the whole party from Cincinnati to St. Louis from \$150.00 to \$95.00.² The missionaries expected to reach their destination before the Sabbath, but, due to many delays, the boat was still eighty-nine miles distant on Saturday night.

The idea of traveling on the Sabbath so troubled their consciences that the whole party disembarked at Chester, Illinois, at ten o'clock the next day. Narcissa wrote: "... many on board tried to persuade us to remain, and have preaching on the Sabbath, and of the number one was a Presbyterian minister from New York, who appeared quite anxious to detain us." At Chester they found a small group of Christians and an aged minister who had been there since 1817. Mr. Spalding preached at the morning service and Dr. Whitman talked to the Sunday School children in the afternoon. The old minister said that their visit "seemed like angels' visit."³

On Monday morning, the steamboat *Majestic* unexpectedly appeared on the river headed for St. Louis. The missionaries hailed its arrival as providential. On account of fog and other delays, the boat did not arrive at St. Louis until Tuesday evening, March 29. Whitman went to the post office at his first opportunity and came back with the distressing news that there were no letters from their loved ones in the East. Spalding received a

¹ Romancers have written about the "bridal tour" of the Spaldings and the Whitmans. Mrs. Spalding was not a bride.

² Spalding letter No. 8.

³ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 80.

communication from the Secretary of War, dated March 1. Greene had written to the War Department asking for official permission for Spalding and Whitman "to reside in the Indian country among the Flat Head & Nez Perces Indians." This was granted. The official permit read:

Approving the design of the board these gentlemen are permitted to reside in the country indicated, & I recommend them to the officers of the Army of the United States, to the Indian agents & the citizens generally & request for them such attention and aid as will facilitate the accomplishment of their objects, & protection should circumstances require it.⁴

It is rather significant that nothing was said of the wives of the missionaries. Was the Board hesitant about letting the War Department know that the missionaries were planning to do what had never been done before—take white women across the mountains?

IN ST. LOUIS

On Wednesday the missionaries saw the sights of the city. Mrs. Spalding was not at all impressed. The buildings "were uncouthly constructed, and it has the appearance of a city going to decay."⁵ While out walking, the Spaldings were attracted to the new Catholic Cathedral by the ringing of its bells. Out of curiosity they entered and spent a few minutes watching the service. The following record by Mrs. Spalding is most revealing:

...the unpleasant sensations we experienced on witnessing their heartless forms and ceremonies, induced us soon to leave, rejoicing that we had never been left to embrace such delusions.⁶

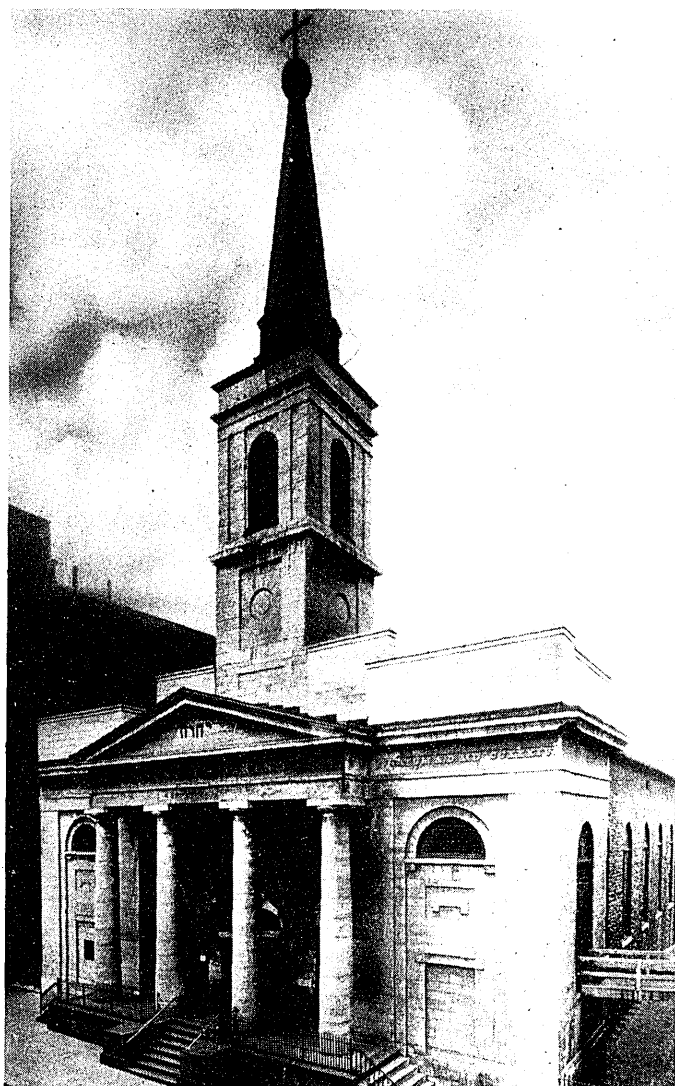
It is important to note that the Spaldings had an anti-Catholic attitude at this time. In this respect they but shared a feeling common to many Protestants of that day. There was a strong spirit of religious intolerance abroad which was felt toward one another even among some of the Protestant denominations.⁷ There was a keen

⁴ A certified copy of the original is in Coll. W.

⁵ Mrs. Spalding's Diary for March 31, 1836.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Samuel T. Walker, Forest Grove, Ore., the only living descendant of any of the Am. Board missionaries to Oregon wrote to me: "I can remember when it was almost a sin for a Cong. to marry a Methodist or Baptist."—C.M.D.



THE ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL.

Visited by the Spaldings and the Whitmans, March 30, 1836.

Courtesy W. C. Pearsons, St. Louis, Mo.

anti-Catholic spirit at Western Reserve College when the Spaldings were there.⁸

Mrs. Whitman also made mention of visiting the Catholic Cathedral. She went with an old acquaintance, Rev. Milton Kimball, and reported that it was "high-mass day." They remained about an hour.⁹ Surely both the Spaldings and the Whitmans would have viewed the place with a different spirit had they then known that two of the Nez Perce Indian delegation had been buried from the former Cathedral in the fall of 1831.¹⁰

ST. LOUIS TO LIBERTY

While in St. Louis, the missionaries made arrangements with the American Fur Company for one of its boats to pick up the mission party at Liberty and take it to Bellevue, where the caravan was to be assembled. Consequently, the missionaries took passage on the *Chariton*, which left St. Louis Thursday noon, March 31, for Liberty, about three hundred miles distant. Again Spalding was successful in getting the captain to reduce the fare. On May 20, he wrote to Greene saying that the Captain, who was "not a professor [of religion]" had reduced the fare for the missionaries from \$180.00 to \$100.00.

As the boat left St. Louis, the Whitmans stayed on deck to enjoy the scenery. Mrs. Spalding found the weather a little too cool for her frail health, so remained in her cabin. That evening there was a beautiful sunset. Twilight had nearly passed before the boat left the Mississippi River and turned up the Missouri. Narcissa wrote that "the moon shone in her brightness." The newlyweds went to the upper deck in order to enjoy the

⁸ "The anti-Catholic movement was rampant at Western Reserve College at the time he was a student there." Dr. F. C. Waite in a letter to me.—C.M.D.

⁹ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 83.

¹⁰ The Cathedral which the Spaldings and the Whitmans saw was dedicated in 1834. It is still standing in St. Louis and is known as the "Old Cathedral." The building visited by the Indians and from which they were buried was a brick structure adjoining and was demolished after the present building was erected.

scenery to the full. Narcissa described the evening in her Journal:

How majestic, how grand, was the scene! the meeting of two such great waters, Surely, how admirable are thy works, O Lord of Hosts. I could have dwelt upon the scene still longer with pleasure. But Brother Spalding called us to prayers, and we left beholding the works of God for his immediate worship.¹¹

One feels that Narcissa went a bit reluctantly.

Nothing exciting marked their trip up the Missouri to Liberty. Whitman was the only one of the party who had been over the route before. He pointed out the fact that they were a week earlier than he and Parker had been the previous year. The party reached Liberty on April 7, just a week after their departure from St. Louis. It was a cold spring day when they landed, with the thermometer touching 24° at nine o'clock in the morning.¹² Spalding estimated that the distance from Prattsburg to Liberty was about 1,900 miles, most of which journey was made by water. Liberty was about halfway between Prattsburg and Lapwai, which proved to be their final destination. With the exception of the trip down the Columbia from Walla Walla to Vancouver and return, all the rest of the journey was to be by land, and most of it on horseback.

EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES

The missionaries were obliged to wait at Liberty for more than three weeks, inasmuch as the Fur Company's boat had met with an accident and was delayed. During this time they made their final preparations for the journey across the plains and over the mountains. Additional necessary equipment was purchased, together with food supplies and live stock.

They made a conical shaped tent out of "bedticking"¹³ large enough to include the whole party. Marcus purchased a sidesaddle for his wife, and it is assumed that

¹¹ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 83.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 85. The "bedticking" was heavy cotton cloth which had been oiled thus making it suitable for tent material.

Henry did likewise.¹⁴ The custom of the time forbade women riding astride; for one thing the type of clothing they then wore did not permit it. It is amazing to think of these women's riding thousands of miles on uncomfortable and insecure sidesaddles.¹⁵ Mrs. Spalding in her Diary refers to the fact that she was thrown several times from her horse when it suddenly bolted or jumped to one side. What victims we are to the dictates of fashion!

Narcissa described their dishes: "Our dishes are made of tin—basins for teacups, iron spoons and plates, each of us, and several pans for milk and to put our meat in when we wish to set it on the table. Each one carries his own knife in his scabbard, and it is always ready for use."¹⁶

The light wagon which Spalding had taken along was reserved for the use of the women. A heavy farm wagon was purchased for their equipment and supplies. It was their plan to take that wagon as far as the Black Hills and then transfer their baggage to pack animals, which plan they followed. The missionaries also secured seventeen head of cattle, including four milch cows and two calves, twelve head of horses, and six mules. Marcus got a mule for Narcissa to ride, in addition to a horse. Richard took one look at the mule and said: "That's a very bad mule—can't catch buffaloes."¹⁷ Whitman found that the price of horses and cattle was much more than he had expected, and on May 5 wrote to Mr. Greene saying that they had then spent \$2,800.00 for traveling expenses and supplies.

WILLIAM H. GRAY

While they were at Liberty waiting for the Fur Company's boat to take them to Bellevue, William H. Gray arrived and announced that he had been appointed by the

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ The four women of the reinforcement to the Oregon mission who crossed the mountains in 1838 also used sidesaddles. Mrs. Elkanah Walker's saddle is in the museum of the Oregon Historical Society at Portland, Oregon.

¹⁶ *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, pp. 106-107.

¹⁷ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 86.

American Board to join the Oregon mission as a mechanic. Since Gray became such an important figure in the history of the Oregon mission, it is well to review the circumstances leading up to his appointment.

Gray was born at Fairfield, New York, September 8, 1810, and was, therefore, in his twenty-sixth year when he was appointed a member of the Oregon mission. His father died when he was sixteen years old. About that time he became an apprentice to a cabinetmaker at Springfield, Otsego County, New York. He served in that capacity until he reached his majority in 1831.

Gray joined the Second Presbyterian Church at Utica in November, 1831. He transferred his membership to the Presbyterian Church at Whitesborough in May, 1834, where he kept his membership until February, 1836. He then withdrew his letter.¹⁸

In addition to such education as he was able to get in the common schools, Gray attended the Oneida Industrial Institute at Whitesborough for six months, "studying geography, Eng. grammar, arithmetic and Greek, the grammar and a few chapters in the New Testament." Gray did not like it at the Institute and withdrew. He made a poor record as a student; in fact, his teachers declared that he was "an extremely dull scholar." In the fall of 1835, Gray aspired to be a physician and "commenced reading with a practising physician" in Utica, a doctor by the name of Josiah Rathbun, who likewise found Gray to be very dull.¹⁹

As a workman Gray possessed considerable ability and won the esteem of his fellow-workers in his trade. It so happened that Gray boarded at the same place in Utica where Rev. Chauncey Eddy stayed. Eddy, as has already been stated, was a field agent of the American Board and it was to him that Whitman appealed, begging his assistance in finding suitable workers for the Oregon mission.

Gray made a good impression upon Eddy. Gray had a brother, Rev. John Gray, then pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Southport, New York. This brother

¹⁸ Original Coll. W.

¹⁹ Eddy to Greene, Feb. 17, 1836. Coll. A.

wrote to Eddy, urging him to use his influence to get William into the ministry. Eddy talked to Gray but found him not interested in the ministry. He was then interested in medicine and was studying it with a view of offering himself for the missionary work of the church.

Gray was an individualist who had plenty of initiative but little of the coöperative spirit. Eddy found that Gray was much inclined "to do good 'on his own hook.'" Once in Whitesborough, Gray went into a neglected part of the city and started a Sunday School, which he made a successful undertaking. "He is represented to me," wrote Eddy, "as uncommonly persevering in whatever he attempts and I cannot learn that he has ever failed in anything, except in becoming a scholar." Eddy made special mention of the fact that Gray was then "entirely free from any engagement and embarrassment." Eddy even suggested to Gray that he get married and recommended a young lady, but Gray insisted that he preferred to be "free from any such engagement," at least for "a number of years."²⁰

When Whitman wrote to Eddy in the early part of February, 1836, Eddy thought of Gray. On the 15th of February, Eddy talked with Gray about the possibility of going to Oregon with Whitman, and two days later both Eddy and Gray wrote to the Board about it. Gray declared that he was ready to go on two days' notice, "or less if necessary."

It appears that these two letters plus one signed by Rev. Ira Pettibone, pastor of the church in Whitesborough, and two of the elders of that church, contained all the information the Board had about Gray before they appointed him. Pettibone's letter, dated "Feb. 1836," is important enough to be given almost entire.

1. We think him possessed of ardent piety, such as fills his heart with a strong desire to do good.

2. He has a tolerable share of what may be called common sense; though not as much acquaintance with human nature as many young men of his age.

3. He evinces an unusual share of perseverance; and a confidence in his own abilities *to a fault*, yet this very confidence often

²⁰ Eddy to Greene, Feb. 17, 1836. Coll. A.

gains him success in an enterprise where one of *greater* talents and less confidence might fail.

4. He is a thorough friend of Temperance (*tee total*) as well as all other benevolent efforts for reforming the world and will cheerfully practice self-denial and endure hardness as a good soldier.

5. His literary acquisitions are slender owing to the fact that he is a *slow scholar*. He might, however, be very useful as an elementary teacher and catechist.

6. He is a skillful mechanic; a cabinet maker, but would readily turn his hand to almost any kind of work in wood that would be useful to the Mission.

7. He has good health and a firm constitution.

Brother Gray has by no means the qualifications that we think desirable for such a station but perhaps as many are combined in him as in any young man of our acquaintance who is willing to go.²¹

These letters could hardly have been acted upon by the Board before Monday, February 22. Gray's name was not included in Greene's request to the Secretary of War of February 25. It is evident that the appointment was made in haste without a thorough investigation as to Gray's fitness.

On March 9, Greene wrote to Whitman saying:

Since I wrote to you last, our Com. have appointed Mr. Gray, a good teacher, cabinet maker and house-joiner, from Utica, to yr mission, and instructed him, if when he receives our letter he shall think he can overtake you before you leave the frontiers, he may start after you. He is highly recommended, and we hope that he will make a valuable assistant.²²

Whitman probably received this letter at Liberty, and it is possible that it came on the same boat which carried Gray to Liberty. Gray arrived about April 19. It is easy to imagine the satisfaction that the Whitmans and Spaldings felt when they learned that another was to go with them.

²¹ Coll. A.

²² Coll. A. On March 3, 1836, Whitman wrote to Greene, saying in part: "Mr. Eddy writes of Mr. Gray as ready to go, if appointed. If Mr. Gray & Hadly are appointed they can join us if they start by the 15th inst possibly by the 20th instant. Let them inquire for us at St. Louis of Rev. Wm. Wisner or for a letter at the Postoffice."

THEY MISS THE CARAVAN

Both joy and sorrow were mingled in the sojourn of the missionaries at Liberty. On Saturday evening, April 23, Miss Emeline Palmer and Samuel Allis were united in marriage, Rev. H. H. Spalding officiating. It is not clear just when Miss Palmer joined the Whitman-Spalding party, perhaps at Cincinnati.²³

On April 30, Mrs. Satterlee died at the age of twenty-three. Narcissa in a letter to a sister wrote:

We have had a sick one with us all the way since we joined Dr. Satterlee. Mrs. Satterlee has had a very bad cough and cold, which has kept her feeble.²⁴

Mrs. Spalding in her Diary also made several references to the illness of Mrs. Satterlee. The funeral services were held on Sunday, May 1.

With the purchase of so many horses, mules, and cattle, the possession of two wagons, and other baggage, the missionaries felt that it would be too expensive to ship all by boat to Bellevue. So it was decided that Spalding and Gray should take everything but the personal baggage of the women and their horses, and go overland, crossing the Missouri River at Leavenworth, and then going up the west side of the Missouri to the Platte. Whitman would stay as long as necessary with Mrs. Satterlee and follow on horseback. He expected to catch up with Spalding and Gray at Leavenworth. Allis was to accompany the women to Bellevue on the Fur Company's boat. Spalding estimated that it was about two hundred miles from Liberty to the Otoe Indian Agency on the north side of the Platte where the missionaries expected to join the caravan.²⁵

With so much baggage and live stock, Spalding and Whitman decided to get help. They hired a young man

²³ Miss Smith, the fiancée of Dunbar, did not go out that year. Dunbar went east in the fall of 1836. They were married Jan. 12, 1837, and went out that spring.

²⁴ *T.O.P.A.* 1891, p. 84.

²⁵ Spalding letter No. 8. In 1836, the Otoe Indian Agency was located at Bellevue, on the north side of the Platte. The Otoe Indian Mission was located eight miles west of Bellevue.

by the name of Dulin to accompany them to the rendezvous. They also secured the services of a third Nez Perce, whom they called Samuel Temoni. After Spalding and Gray started, a sixteen-year-old boy by the name of Miles Goodyear attached himself to the party. Gray described the boy as follows:

The third day, in the morning, some forty miles from Fort Leavenworth, as we were about starting, a white boy, about sixteen years old, came into camp, having on an old torn straw hat, on old ragged fustian coat, scarcely half a shirt, with buckskin pants, badly worn, but one moccasin, a powder-horn with no powder in it, and an old rifle . . . He said he had started for the Rocky Mountains; he was from some place in Iowa.²⁶

Thus the party grew to ten—five missionaries, three Nez Perces, Dulin, and Miles Goodyear. Dulin left the party at the rendezvous; Goodyear continued until they reached Fort Hall, rendering valuable assistance.

Spalding and Gray got started about the 25th of April. They crossed the Missouri River at Leavenworth on Monday, May 2, a day filled with a series of misfortunes for Spalding. A mule kicked him in the breast, giving him a severe and painful bruise. While crossing the river on a ferry boat, an unruly cow fell overboard, taking Spalding with her. That night a severe rain and wind storm stripped him of his tent and blankets, thoroughly wetting him again. The combination was too much even for his strong constitution. He became ill. When Dr. Whitman finally caught up with the party, he bled Spalding and gave him calomel. Is it any wonder that Spalding was unable to resume his usual duties until after the party crossed the Platte on the 21st of May?²⁷

Meanwhile, back at Liberty, Mrs. Satterlee's funeral was held on Sunday, May 1, the very day the Fur Company's boat arrived. To the consternation of the missionaries, who had made arrangements at St. Louis for passage on that boat, the captain refused to stop. Nat-

²⁶ Gray, *Oregon*, p. 113.

²⁷ Spalding letter No. 8. There was a ferry at Leavenworth, which probably accounts for the reason why the mission party crossed there.

urally the missionaries felt that the Company did not wish to be bothered with them, especially since the women were along. And yet, they could not cross the plains unescorted. They had to have the protection of the caravan.

After a hasty consultation, it was decided to set out in pursuit of Spalding and Gray, whom they hoped to find encamped near Leavenworth. Consequently Whitman hired a team and wagon, and the party consisting of himself, Dr. Satterlee, Allis, and the three women, started overland. Since the tent and other equipment had been sent on ahead, the women were obliged to spend several nights in the open with nothing more than their blankets for protection. This served as a rough and unexpected initiation into the experiences which were before them.

DELAYS AND DIFFICULTIES

Although rushed for time and fearful that they would miss the caravan at the Otoe Indian Agency, the party did not travel on the Sabbath. They spent Sunday, May 8, at the Methodist mission among the Kickapoo Indians near Leavenworth. To their dismay they found that Spalding had not stopped at Leavenworth as he had said he would, but had continued his journey. Whitman sent Allis to overtake him and to request that the light wagon be sent back to meet the rest of the party. Allis caught up with Spalding when he was about forty miles south of the Platte.

Writing to Greene from Leavenworth on May 5, Whitman made special mention of Mrs. Spalding's frail health. "I have some fears," he wrote, "with respect to Mrs. Spaulding's ability to stand the journey."²⁸ He reported that "Mrs. Whitman is very well and in good spirits." They left in pursuit of Spalding on Monday, May 9, and met the returning team about the 11th or 12th. Mr. and Mrs. Allis journeyed with them until they reached their station among the Pawnees.

By Saturday, May 14, the united party was within

²⁸ Coll. A.

eighteen miles of the Otoe Agency. Again they camped over the Sabbath. That very day Fitzpatrick,²⁹ captain of the caravan for that year, left Bellevue for the rendezvous. Whitman was called to the Otoe Agency to minister to a sick man, and learning that the caravan had already started, set out in pursuit the next morning to have a talk with Fitzpatrick. Whitman knew Fitzpatrick, for on his previous trip with Fontenelle, Fitzpatrick had taken charge of the caravan at Laramie. Much to Whitman's relief, he found that Fitzpatrick was willing to have the missionaries join the caravan. He felt the necessity of starting, for it was already late, and believed that the missionaries could catch up before they reached hostile territory. Spalding later discovered that Fitzpatrick was not the one responsible for the failure of the boat to stop at Liberty. The Captain was to blame.³⁰

Before leaving the Agency to see Fitzpatrick, Whitman sent a man back to guide the mission party. Even though they had but eighteen miles to go, the guide misled them, and for a time they were lost in the uninhabited and roadless country south of the Platte. When Whitman returned to the Agency, he was surprised to find that the mission party had not arrived. They did not appear at the crossing until Wednesday morning, May 18.

They experienced great difficulty in crossing the river. Narcissa described the experience as follows:

Husband became so completely exhausted with swimming the river on Thursday, May 9th [19th], that it was with difficulty he made the shore the last time. Mr. Spaulding was sick, our two hired men were good for nothing; we could not obtain much assistance from the Otoes, for they were away from the village; we had but one canoe, made of skins, and that partly eaten by the dogs the night before. We got everything over by Friday night. We did not get ready to start until Saturday afternoon.³¹

²⁹ Hafen and Ghent, *Broken Hand, Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick*. Fitzpatrick was one of the party that rediscovered South Pass in March, 1824. He was known as "Broken Hand."

³⁰ Spalding letter No. 10. Many writers have felt that Fitzpatrick was trying to avoid the missionaries because women were along. Contemporary evidence does not support this theory.

³¹ T.O.P.A., 1891, p. 40.

One of the wagons needed repairing, and the baggage had to be overhauled, for it was discovered that there was too much. Spalding wrote of the baggage problem in these words:

Though we have now a very limited supply of everything we find that we must leave many things we consider almost indispensable. My classical and theological books will nearly all be left. We can take almost nothing in the line of mechanical tools and farming utensils, but very little clothing, no seeds except a few garden seeds.³²

The delay in crossing the Platte and in getting started caused much anxiety to the members of the mission party. Whitman wrote: "We felt much doubt about overtaking them."³³ And Narcissa wrote: "By this time the company had four and a half days the advance of us. It seemed scarcely possible for us to overtake them, we having two more difficult streams to pass, before they would pass the Pawnee village." It was not considered safe for such a small party to travel through the Indian country west of the Pawnees. Narcissa further wrote: "After a concert of prayer on the subject, we decided to start and go as far as it would be prudent for us."³⁴ Dunbar consented to act as pilot until another could be secured. The party started Saturday afternoon, May 21.

The need for haste was so great that they decided to travel on the Sabbath. The Elkhorn River, where Waterloo, Nebraska, now is, was crossed on Monday, May 23. There Dunbar turned back, for another guide had been secured. Mrs. Spalding wrote in her Diary: "We are pressing forward in our journey with all possible speed, in hopes of overtaking the company before they pass the Pawnee villages, on the Loup Fork."³⁵

After crossing the Elkhorn, the mission party made forced marches. Narcissa's account of this part of the journey is as follows:

Monday and Tuesday we made hard drives—Tuesday especially. We attempted to reach the Loup Fork that night, and a part of

³² Spalding letter No. 8.

³³ *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 110.

³⁴ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 41.

³⁵ Mrs. Spalding, Diary, May 24, 1836.

us succeeded. Those in the wagon drove there by 11 o'clock, but it was too much for the cattle.³⁶

Richard and John, the Indian boys, stayed out on the prairie all night with the cattle, bringing them in the next day. Marcus and Narcissa decided to remain with them; the others drove on. For their supper that night, they drank milk. The blankets carried by their horses provided their only bedding. "Having offered up our thanksgiving for the blessings of the day," wrote Narcissa, "and seeking protection for the night, we committed ourselves to rest."

THE MISSION PARTY JOINS THE CARAVAN

The next morning the Whitmans and the two Indian boys and the cattle rode into camp before breakfast. To their great joy they saw the Company's encampment on the other side of the Loup River.³⁷ The mission party spent the morning in crossing the river, so did not actually join the caravan until that night, May 25. Their race had been won. Marcus said that they "thanked God and took courage."³⁸

The caravan itself had met with unexpected delays, which Spalding called providential. The caravan contained about four hundred animals and seventy men. It was like a moving village. The Fur Company had seven heavily loaded wagons and one cart, each of which was drawn by three spans of mules. The failure to take along axle grease caused a delay of several days while a satisfactory substitute was provided³⁹ by slaying two fat oxen. Had it not been for the delay thus caused the mission party would not have been able to catch up with

³⁶ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 41.

³⁷ Where Columbus, Nebraska, now is. The distance between the two rivers on this trail was about sixty miles.

³⁸ *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 110.

³⁹ *Senate Ex. Doc.* No. 37, p. 10, containing a reprint of Spalding's interview with Humphrey. "In their haste to get away from us they had forgotten to take sufficient wheel-grease. To burn wood for ashes, going ten miles out of their way to find it, and to kill two oxen for the fat necessary for the compound, took four days more."

the caravan, and a great many factors in the subsequent history of the Northwest would have been changed.

After joining the caravan, the missionaries found it advisable to stay with it every day, even when that necessitated traveling on the Sabbath. Nevertheless, the necessity troubled their consciences. Mrs. Spalding could not refrain from writing in her Diary:

This is the second Sabbath that has dawned upon us since we left Otoe. But shall my pen record the manner in which we spent the last, and how we expect to spend this, and perhaps every Sabbath during the remainder of this long journey we have before us . . . oh the blessed privilege of those who can every Sabbath go to the house of God with the multitude who keep the holy day, and do not feel themselves under the necessity of journeying on the Lord's holy Sabbath.⁴⁰

In the caravan was an English nobleman, Sir William Drummond, K.B., who traveled under the name of Captain Stewart. Stewart had four besides himself in his party and was traveling for his health and the love of adventure. When the caravan was on the move, the mission party brought up the rear.

THEY CROSS THE PLAINS

Spalding described a day's schedule in a letter written to Greene, July 8, from the rendezvous, as follows:

The order of the camp has been as follows: rise at half past three and turn out the horses, start at 6, turn out at 11, start again at 1, camp at (five?) catch up and picket the horses at 8. A guard was kept night and day. We made from 15 to 20 miles a day.⁴¹

The buffalo range, which began about three hundred miles west of the mouth of the Platte, was reached about the first of June. It was the usual custom of the caravan to carry sufficient provisions to take them to that place, and from then on they lived on buffalo meat. The mission party found it necessary to follow the same custom, for they could not carry enough provisions with them to supply their needs until they arrived at their final

⁴⁰ Mrs. Spalding, Diary, May 29, 1836.

⁴¹ Spalding letter No. 10.

destination. Nixon wrote: "By a strange miscalculation they ran out of flour before the journey was half ended."⁴² Not so. Narcissa explained their situation when she wrote:

It is usually pinching times with the Company before they reach the buffalo. We have had a plenty because we made ample provision at Liberty. We purchased a barrel of flour and baked enough to last us, with killing a calf or two, until we reached the buffalo.⁴³

She also wrote that though they found it difficult at first to bake bread over an open fire, they had finally managed to master that art.

Writing from the rendezvous on July 8, Spalding declared that they had "nothing but buffalo meat of the poorest kind as buffalo are very scarce this year."⁴⁴ All members of the party got along very well on this diet except Mrs. Spalding. By June 10, the food supplies brought from civilization were about exhausted. The milk from their cows furnished a much appreciated article of food, and was undoubtedly the means of saving Mrs. Spalding's life. Mrs. Whitman liked the meat diet. "All our variety consists of the different ways of cooking," she wrote, "so long as I have buffalo meat I do not wish anything else."⁴⁵

Whitman had learned many different ways to prepare the meat. Narcissa wrote: "Husband is cooking it—no one of the company professes the art but himself." When passing through a long stretch of timberless country, they used dried buffalo dung as fuel. "We now find plenty of it," Narcissa wrote, "and it answers a very good purpose, similar to the kind of coal used in Pennsylvania (I suppose now Harriet will make up a face at this, but if she was here she would be glad to have her supper cooked at any rate in this scarce timber country)."⁴⁶

⁴² Nixon, *How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon*, p. 75.

⁴³ *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 105.

⁴⁴ Spalding letter No. 10.

⁴⁵ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 42.

⁴⁶ *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 104.

Once the caravan ran into a herd of buffalo which numbered about 5,000.⁴⁷

While on the move, Spalding usually drove the team hitched to his light wagon, Gray and Whitman took turns driving the four-horse team pulling the heavy wagon, while the Indians took care of the loose live stock. Dulin took care of the horses. The party arrived at Fort Laramie, which was also known as Fort William, on Monday, June 13. There they rested for eight days. On Sunday, June 19, Spalding preached. The men of the caravan and of the fort constituted his audience. They gathered in the shade of some trees near the Fort. Spalding based his remarks upon the story of the prodigal son. Mrs. Spalding noted in her Diary that the men "were very attentive."

The women especially enjoyed such comforts of civilization as the Fort boasted, as "comfortable chairs, bot-tomed with buffalo skin." Eliza said that it was good to fix her eyes on buildings once more, and Narcissa noted in her letter that she had the first opportunity to wash her clothes since leaving Liberty.⁴⁸

The Fur Company left all of their wagons at the Fort and took only the cart. Whitman and Spalding decided to leave the heavy farm-wagon there and take only Spalding's light wagon, as least as far as the rendezvous. They repacked their baggage on the animals, placing an average load of two hundred and fifty pounds on the mules, and sometimes a heavier load on the horses.⁴⁹

THEY CROSS THE MOUNTAINS

On Tuesday, June 21, the caravan started on the last stretch. The north fork of the Platte had been crossed before they reached the Fort, hence they were on the

⁴⁷ Spalding letter No. 12 gives the following amusing post-script: "Tell your dear children all, I remember them. Have seen 5000 buffalo at once probably. Hope they will all become missionaries."

⁴⁸ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 51. She claims that she had three opportunities to wash *en route*—Fort William, rendezvous, and Fort Boise.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

south side of the river. They cut across country to the mouth of the Sweetwater, about one hundred and forty miles, where they again crossed the Platte, and proceeded up the north side of the Sweetwater, through the South Pass to the continental divide. This they crossed on Monday, July 4, 1836.⁵⁰

In the article which Rev. S. J. Humphrey, editor of the *Chicago Advance*, published in his paper December 1, 1870, entitled *An Evening With An Old Missionary*, special mention was made of an incident which is supposed to have occurred when they crossed the divide. Humphrey wrote:

And there—it was Independence Day, six years before Fremont, following in the footsteps of these women, gained the name of the “Path-finder,”—they, alighting from their horses and kneeling on the other half of the continent, with the Bible in one hand and the American flag in the other, took possession of it as the home of American mothers, and of the Church of Christ.⁵¹

The contemporary journals, diaries, and letters say nothing of such a dramatic event, which surely would have been noted if it had taken place. The missionaries observed prayers twice daily—in the morning and in the evening. They looked forward with eager anticipation to the time when they would cross the divide. It is altogether probable that on the evening of July 4, special mention would have been made in their prayers of the object of their mission to the western side of the Rockies. No mention has yet been found of their having an American flag with them. The account as given to us in the Humphrey article must be put down as the work of the imagination of either Humphrey or Spalding.

It was the custom of the Fur Company to send a messenger forward to the rendezvous several days in advance. This messenger told the Nez Perces of the coming

⁵⁰ *Wash. Hist. Quar.*, Vol. 8, p. 30, tells of a monument which the Wyoming Trail Commission placed where the first white women crossed. The inscription is as follows: “Narcissa Prentiss Whitman Eliza Hart Spalding First White Women to cross this Pass July 4, 1836.”

⁵¹ *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 37*, p. 11. A drawing of this supposed event appeared in Warren, *Memoirs*, and Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, and other books.

of the missionaries, with the result that a company of Indians from that tribe rode out to the divide to meet the mission party. An interesting meeting took place. Spalding wrote that they were obliged to use four languages in their first interview, because for some reason Richard and John were not present—English, Iroquois, Flathead, and Nez Perce. The Indians expressed their joy upon seeing missionaries actually on their way to the Indian country.

One of the Indians delivered a letter written by Mr. Parker at Walla Walla, dated May 16, in which Parker said that he was going to return to the States by sea. Spalding wrote to Greene of that, saying:

In the letter Mr. Parker said his way was hedged up that he could not meet us that the field was a promising one and hoped we would be enabled to enter upon our work soon.⁵²

The missionaries were deeply disappointed to learn that Parker had not returned to the rendezvous. They were also disappointed in the meager amount of information which Parker's letter contained. On May 10, 1839, Whitman wrote to Greene regarding Parker's service to the Oregon mission:

We cannot say how much good Mr. Parker's tour will do others. It has done us none, for instead of meeting us at the Rendezvous as he agreed he neglected even to write a single letter containing any information concerning the country, company, Indians, prospects, or advice of any kind whatever.⁵³

Whitman's note here must be read with care. Whitman did not state that Parker wrote no letter, but that he wrote no letter containing the information the missionaries wanted. Gray in later years attributes the briefness of Parker's letter to his fears of the Hudson's Bay Company. Gray wrote:

Feeling certain that any advice or information he might attempt to communicate to his missionary friends would in all probability be made use of to their detriment, and perhaps destroy the mission itself, he did not deem it prudent to write or to give any advice.⁵⁴

⁵² Spalding letter No. 10.

⁵³ Whitman to Greene, May 10, 1839.

⁵⁴ Gray, *Oregon*, p. 119.

Gray had such a bitter anti-Hudson's Bay Company attitude that this explanation must be discounted. The fact is that Parker felt most kindly toward the Company and received many favors from them. His Journal reveals no distrust whatever of the Company. It is hard to understand why Parker did not render greater assistance to Whitman and the reinforcements which he hoped Whitman would bring out.

AT THE RENDEZVOUS

The caravan reached the rendezvous on Wednesday, July 6. That year the rendezvous was held on a branch of the Green River, in the vicinity of what is now Daniel, Wyoming.⁵⁵ There at the rendezvous the missionaries met the main camp of the Nez Perces. Mrs. Spalding described the meeting as follows:

Arrived at the Rendezvous this evening. Were met by a large party of Nez Perces, men, women and children. The women were not satisfied, short of saluting Mrs. Whitman and myself with a kiss. All appear happy to see us.⁵⁶

Spalding estimated that the distance from Liberty to the rendezvous was 1300 miles,⁵⁷ which distance they covered in sixty-six days. This included the time spent at Fort Laramie. Spalding's estimate is too large.

Two items in Spalding's letter to Greene of July 8 deserve attention. The first is this:

We have got our waggon to this place without much difficulty and shall probably take it through.

Contrary to general opinion, the wagon was Spalding's wagon, yet Whitman actually gets the honor of being the first to take a wagon across the mountains. As has already been pointed out, wagons had previously been taken to the rendezvous.

The second item of Spalding's letter worthy of attention is this:

⁵⁵ Hafen and Ghent, *Broken Hand*, p. 121.

⁵⁶ Mrs. Spalding, Diary, July 6, 1836.

⁵⁷ A fairer estimate would be 920 miles; see page 99 of this book.

Never send another mission over these mountains if you value life and money.⁵⁸

Long extracts from Spalding's letter of the 8th were published in the *Missionary Herald*, but this particular piece of advice was omitted. Whitman was more optimistic when he wrote:

I see no reason to regret our choice of a journey by land.⁵⁹

(The source material for this chapter is to be found in Mrs. Spalding's Diary; Mrs. Whitman's Journal-Letters, *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, pp. 79-86, and *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, pp. 104-110; Whitman's letters of May 5, June 4, and July 16; Spalding letters Nos. 6 to 10, inclusive (See Appendix No. 1); Gray's *Oregon*; and few other scattered sources. Mrs. Spalding writes more of her religious meditations in her Diary, while Mrs. Whitman gives more of the details of the journey.)

⁵⁸ Spalding letter No. 10.

⁵⁹ Whitman to Greene, July 16, 1836. Coll. A.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE RENDEZVOUS TO LAPWAI

AT THE rendezvous the missionaries met two Nez Percé chiefs in particular with whom they were to have many important subsequent contacts. They were Tack-en-su-a-tis,¹ sometimes referred to as Rotten Belly, and Ish-hol-hol-hoats-hoats, also known as Lawyer.² Spalding seems to identify the former of these two with Tai-quin-watish, the Nez Percé chief who was so friendly to Samuel Parker. Both of these chiefs were young men at the time, perhaps in their thirties. Gray tells of a meal they had with Rotten Belly and Lawyer, and states that twenty-seven years later, Lawyer referred to that meal as "the time when his heart became one with the *Suapies* (Americans)."³

Richard and John were returned to their people. The natural stoicism of the Indian was broken down by the great emotions which swept over them when they met their own people again. "It was truly pleasing," wrote Narcissa, "to see the meeting of Richard and John with their friends. Richard was affected to tears."⁴

That summer there were about two hundred white men at the rendezvous and a larger number of Flatheads and Nez Percés than had been present the previous year. The presence of white women created a sensation, not only among the Indians but among the white men as well. Whitman wrote that the Indians were "greatly interested with our females, cattle, and waggon."⁵ Some of the mountain men had not seen a white woman for ten

¹ This is Spalding's method of spelling the name. Corbett Lawyer, grandson of the first Lawyer, now of Moscow, Idaho, spells the name "Tah-ha-hin-see-wa-tis."

² Lawyer was the son of old Chief Twisted Hair, one of those who welcomed Lewis and Clark.

³ Gray, *Oregon*, p. 120.

⁴ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 43.

⁵ Whitman to Greene, July 16, 1836. Coll. A.

years, and at times from fifteen to twenty joined the missionaries in their morning and evening prayers. We can believe that the presence of the women was a greater attraction than the desire for spiritual uplift, although Narcissa did write about the many requests they had received for Bibles.

At the rendezvous the missionaries parted with Fitzpatrick and his men. The question of a proper escort to Fort Walla Walla gave Spalding and Whitman considerable concern. The Indians, fearful that something might happen to divert their white friends from their nation, were eager that the mission band accompany them over the northern route. Spalding and Whitman evidently knew something of the mountainous country through which they would have to pass, and consequently looked about for a suitable escort which would make it possible for them to take the easier and shorter way along the Snake River.

Just at that time John McLeod and Thomas McKay of the Hudson's Bay Company arrived at the rendezvous with Captain Wyeth. The Hudson's Bay Company had purchased Fort Hall, which Wyeth had established in 1834, consequently Wyeth decided to return to the States. McLeod brought another letter from Parker for Whitman, in which Parker advised the missionaries to return with McLeod. This the missionaries were glad to do.

On the 14th of July, the mission party left the rendezvous and moved to McLeod's camp, about ten miles away. The Nez Perces and Flatheads followed their missionaries. Narcissa wrote of her reception in McLeod's camp as follows:

On our arrival Mr. McL came to meet us led us to his tent & gave us a supper which consisted of steak (Antelope) broiled ham biscuit & butter tea and loaf sugar brot from Wallah Wallah This we relished very much as we had not seen anything of the bread kind since the last of May Especially Sister Spalding who has found it quite difficult to eat meat some time.⁶

Mrs. Spalding was in feeble health when she arrived at the rendezvous. She was not strong when she left her

⁶ Mrs. Whitman to her family, July 15, 1836. Original owned by Mr. Alexander Mack of New York.

home on the 1st of February. When Mrs. Whitman met her at Cincinnati, Mrs. Whitman was doubtful whether or not she could endure the hardships of the journey. According to the Humphrey article in the *Chicago Advance*, Mrs. Spalding was so weak that she fainted the day the party crossed the divide. After arriving at the rendezvous, Mrs. Spalding wrote in her Diary: "A few days' rest does not yet appear to benefit my health. My illness rather increased." And she yet had a six-hundred-mile ride before her!

THE FAMOUS WAGON

Whitman and Spalding knew the utilitarian value of a wagon at a mission station, and were determined, if at all possible, to take the wagon through to their destination. There is no indication that the men at that time dreamed of the significance that was later to be attached to what they did. "We want to take it on," wrote Narcissa, "for the benefit it will be to us when we get there."⁷

After leaving the rendezvous, the men found the going most difficult for their vehicle. On July 25, Narcissa noted in her Journal that the wagon upset twice. The mountainside was so steep that she did not wonder at this—"it was a greater wonder that it was not turning somersaults continually." On July 28, one of the axletrees of the wagon broke. The women were secretly glad for they hoped that the men would abandon it. To their disappointment, the four-wheeled wagon was made over into a two-wheeled cart, using the back wheels. The front wheels were loaded on this and taken along. Narcissa wrote: "They are so resolute and untiring in their efforts they will probably succeed."⁸ The two-wheeled cart was taken from that place east of Fort Hall to Fort Boise, where it was abandoned. Again Narcissa wrote of the vehicle:

Perhaps you will wonder why we have left the wagon, having taken it so nearly through. Our animals are failing, and the route in crossing the Blue Mountains is said to be impassable for it. We

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁸ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 45.

have the prospect of obtaining one in exchange at Vancouver. If we do not we shall send for it, when we have been to so much labor in getting it thus far. It is a useful article in the country.⁹

No other wheeled vehicle passed between Fort Hall and Fort Boise until 1840, when the first wagons were taken over the Blue Mountains into the Columbia River Valley.¹⁰

THE JOURNEY TO FORT HALL

The McLeod party with the missionaries and the Indians started on Monday, July 18, for Fort Hall. The Nez Percés were disappointed to learn that the missionaries had decided to go to Walla Walla over the southern route with McLeod. Tack-en-su-a-tis, with one or two others, declared his determination to accompany the missionaries. This meant that they would not be able to get their usual supply of buffalo meat for the winter. Spalding sought to persuade the chief to go with his people, but the chief replied: "I shall go no more with my people, but with you: where you settle I shall settle."¹¹

The live stock owned by the missionaries reached the rendezvous in fairly good condition. Four horses were lost or stolen *en route*. They purchased three from the Indians and two more were given by the chiefs, one of these by Tack-en-su-a-tis.¹²

Spalding wrote of the eagerness of this chief to conform to Christian ideals as exemplified by the missionaries. He observed daily prayers and kept the Sabbath as strictly as did his newly found white friends. He had a Flathead wife, who, according to Indian custom, did the manual work. She would pack four or five animals each morning and unpack them at night, while her husband took it easy. Contacts with white men soon changed this. Spalding wrote:

⁹ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 52.

¹⁰ The first three wagons crossed the Blue Mountains in August and September, 1840. *T.O.P.A.*, 1877, p. 22.

¹¹ Spalding letter No. 11.

¹² Whitman to Greene, July 16, 1836. Coll. A.

Long before we closed our journey, the chief did his part of the labor, rode by the side of his wife, and was very sociable and attentive, a thing looked upon as degrading among Indians. At Wallawalla, when he was solicited by another chief to take a second wife, he replied that the "black coat", a name they give to all ministers, would not like it.¹³

The Indians then made no distinction between Catholics and Protestants. They had learned the name "black coat" or "black robe" to be the proper title for a priest, and naturally applied the same title to a Protestant minister.

For food on that part of their journey which lay between the rendezvous and Fort Hall, the party had to depend largely upon dried buffalo meat which they secured from the Indians. It looked most unappetizing. Narcissa called it "filthy," and confessed that she could hardly eat it. "But it keeps us alive," she wrote, "and we ought to be thankful for it." And to her sisters she wrote: "Girls do not waste the bread; if you knew how well I should relish even the driest morsel, you would save every piece."¹⁴ Eliza also found the meat "very miserable," yet wrote in her Diary that it "affected my health favorably."¹⁵

The party reached Fort Hall about the 3rd of August, where again the women had a taste of bread. It is, no doubt, impossible for us to imagine how tiresome and even repulsive the dried buffalo meat became to the missionaries. Writing on September 20, Spalding declared:

Our friends must think of us sitting on the burning sand, with a cup of tea in one hand, and a piece of dry, mouldy, and sour buffalo meat in the other, and this for breakfast, dinner, and supper, for days and weeks together. As we drew near Wallawalla, we heard of its beautiful cattle, its hogs, and other fruits of civilized life; and be assured the anticipation of once more getting into my hand a potato or crust of bread, was no ways favorable to my sleep at night.¹⁶

There at Fort Hall was the first effort at cultivation within the borders of the present state of Idaho, but it

¹³ Spalding letter No. 11.

¹⁴ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 45.

¹⁵ Mrs. Spalding, Diary, August 3, 1836.

¹⁶ Spalding letter No. 11.

was confined to a vegetable garden. Captain Thing was the factor in charge and had that spring and summer tried his luck with such vegetables as peas and onions, and had also raised some corn. What a treat fresh vegetables were to the missionaries!

FORT HALL TO FORT BOISE

The party did not tarry long at the Fort. The main body of the Nez Percés turned off there to take the northern route. Again they pleaded with their white friends to go that way, but the prospect of a trip that would be about two months longer was enough to make the missionaries firm in their refusal. They expected to get through to Walla Walla in twenty-five days from Fort Hall and wanted to make some adequate provision for the winter as soon as possible.

The mission party left with McLeod and his men on August 4, but made only ten miles that day. After leaving the main Indian body, they found they could travel more leisurely. The Indians were accustomed to start in the morning and travel continuously for eight hours before pausing for rest or refreshment for man or beast. The white people were accustomed to break their journey in the middle of the day, sometimes for two hours.

Near Fort Hall the missionaries got their first view of the Snake River, reported to be the seventh river in the United States as to volume of water. They followed this river for about two weeks. On August 5, they saw the American Falls. They continued along the south side of the river to the Island Ford, which is about three miles below what is now Glenns Ferry, Idaho. There they forded the river on Saturday, August 13. Cannon describes the ford as follows:

The writer has examined this ford and finds the conditions today unchanged. There are two islands in the river at this point and the distance between the second and the north bank of the river is computed to be 2600 feet. The current passes over a bar and is quite rapid. The main channel at low water is from five to seven feet deep. Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding forded the river on horseback. It is a safe presumption that few men could be found today who would undertake to make this ford under any conditions short of life itself.¹⁷

¹⁷ Cannon, *Waiilatpu*, p. 24.

On this occasion the women rode the tallest horses in the caravan. Whitman had considerable difficulty in getting the cart across. Two mules were hitched to it. Once the force of the current rolled both cart and mules completely over. The mules became entangled in the harness, and it was only after the most desperate struggle that they were extricated.

Narcissa described the following novel method of crossing a river which the Indians sometimes used:

There is one manner of crossing which husband has tried out but I have not, neither do I wish to. Take an elk skin and stretch it over you, spreading yourself out as much as possible, then let the Indian women carefully put you on the water and with a cord they will swim and draw you over.¹⁸

After crossing the Snake, McLeod and his men pushed on ahead. The missionaries with a guide followed more leisurely. They reached Fort Boise,¹⁹ then called Snake Fort, Friday noon, August 19, having crossed the desert of what is now southern Idaho during one of the hottest months of the year. McKay²⁰ stopped at the Fort, but McLeod continued. The mission party rested over Saturday and part of Sunday, giving the women another chance to wash their clothes. Spalding preached Sunday morning. Narcissa wrote:

The theme was the character of the blessed Saviour. All listened with good attention.²¹

FORT BOISE TO FORT WALLA WALLA

With their party further reduced by the number who remained at Fort Boise, the others continued their journey Sunday afternoon. The Snake River was crossed again Monday, this time the women crossing in a canoe. The men were persuaded to leave the remnants of Spald-

¹⁸ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 51. During the Chief Joseph uprising of 1877, Joseph was obliged to cross the Clearwater at Kamiah by this method, since the Indians there had hidden all the boats.

¹⁹ The Fort was then located on the Boise River about ten miles below the present site of Caldwell. It was established by Thomas McKay in the summer of 1834, and later moved.

²⁰ A stepson of Dr. John McLoughlin.

²¹ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 51.

ing's wagon at Fort Boise. Contrary to some writers' declarations, the wagon was never taken over the Blue Mountains into the Columbia River Valley. A record is found of its being at Fort Boise as late as 1860.²² Five of the small herd of cattle were also left at the Fort, since it was judged that they were too weak to be driven over the Blue Mountains. The missionaries found that the cattle suffered for food while crossing the country between Fort Hall and Fort Boise. Satisfactory arrangements were made with the Hudson's Bay Company for an exchange of stock or goods for that left at Boise.²³

After crossing the river, the party continued up the west side until Friday, the 26th. It was then decided to divide the party, due to the fact that some of the animals were too worn out to travel fast. McLeod and his men, with Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and Gray, pushed on ahead. The Spaldings remained with the Indians and the live stock and most of the baggage. The tent was left for the Spaldings' use, since McLeod offered his to the Whitmans.

The trail led them over the ridge separating the Powder River from the Grande Ronde. They followed this valley for the most part to the summit of the Blue Mountains. In the mountains the missionaries found an agreeable change from their diet of dried buffalo meat to fresh game. From time to time, they had been able to get fresh fish even before they reached Fort Hall. The Blue Mountains were, and still are, covered with timber, which the missionaries greatly appreciated after spending so many days on the treeless wastes of what is now southern Idaho. Both the Whitmans and the Spaldings found the foothills of the Blue Mountains similar to the hills in the vicinity of Prattsburg. However, the more they penetrated into the mountains, the bigger and steeper these became. Narcissa wrote: "Mount Pleasant, in Prattsburgh, would not compare with these Mount Terribles."²⁴

²² Cannon, *Waiilatpu*, p. 25.

²³ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 52.

²⁴ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 55. Local residents today in Prattsburg are unable to identify "Mount Pleasant."

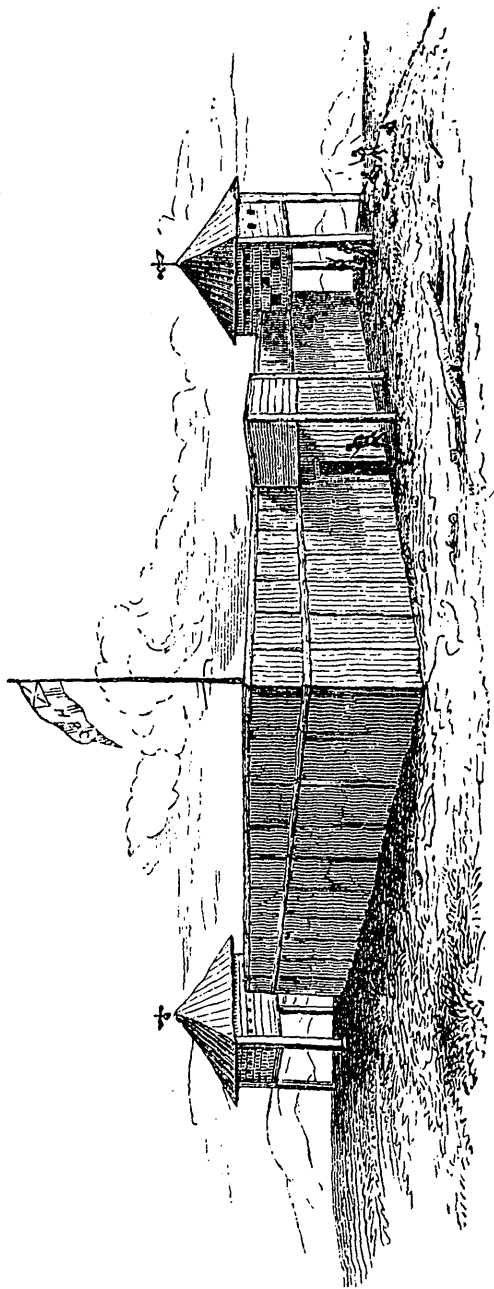
On the 29th of August the Whitmans and Gray reached a vantage point on the top of the Blue Mountains where they were able to look down into the Columbia River Valley. It was a clear day and the visibility was excellent. Far to the west, about three hundred miles, they could see Mount Hood. To the north was Mount St. Helens. They watched the sun go down behind Mount Hood and throw that beautiful white-covered peak into sharp relief.²⁵

FORT WALLA WALLA

On the evening of the 30th, the Whitman party camped on the Umatilla River. McLeod rode on ahead to Fort Walla Walla to announce their coming. On Wednesday evening, the Whitmans camped within eight miles of their destination. They were up with the first light of day on Thursday morning, September first, and without waiting to eat, pushed on. Two miles east of the Fort they passed the first signs of civilization, the Fort's vegetable garden. "The fatigues of the long journey seemed to be forgotten," wrote Narcissa, "in the excitement of being so near the close."

In addition to McLeod, there were at the Fort at that time the Hudson's Bay factor in charge, P. C. Pambrun, who had welcomed Parker the previous year, and a traveling naturalist, Mr. J. K. Townsend. These three mounted their horses and rode out to escort the missionaries. Breakfast was ready, and what a breakfast! They were given "cushioned arm chairs" and before them were placed "fresh salmon, potatoes, tea, bread and butter." While at breakfast a rooster perched on the doorsill and crowed—what a welcome sound! Narcissa wrote of it: "Now whether it was the sight of the first white woman, or out of compliment to the company, I know not, but this much for him, I was pleased with his appearance." Narcissa felt it necessary to apologize for writing about a mere rooster. "No one knows the feelings occasioned by seeing objects once familiar after a long deprivation."

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.



FORT WALLAWALLA.

Sketches made in 1841 by a member of the Wilkes' expedition. The bastions on the corners were used by the Whitmans and the Spaldings as bedrooms when they arrived in September, 1836.

"Fort Wallawalla is about two hundred feet square, and is built of pickets, with a gallery or staging on the inside, whence the pickets may be looked over. It has two bastions, one on the southwest and the other on the northeast. On the inside are several buildings, constructed of logs and mud; one of these is the Indian store; the whole is covered with sand and dust, which is blown about in vast quantities."

Wilkes, *The United States Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842*, Vol. IV, pp. 390-391.

After breakfast they were shown the sights of the Fort. Near-by was the great Columbia River. They found in the grounds of the Fort: chickens, turkeys, pigeons, cows, goats, and swine. They were ushered to the west bastion of the Fort, which Pambrun turned over to their use as a bedroom. Narcissa wrote that the presence of a loaded cannon by one of the portholes, and other instruments of warfare did not disturb her. "I am so well pleased with the possession of a room to shelter me from the scorching sun that I scarcely notice them."

After being shown to their room, the Whitmans were called to eat their first muskmelon. It was a great treat. At four in the afternoon they were called to dine again. The menu included "pork, cabbage, turnips, tea, bread and butter." It was a feast which reminded them of their homes far in the East.²⁶

About noon on Saturday, September 3, the Spalding party with Tack-en-su-a-tis and the other Indians arrived. Out of the twelve head of horses secured at St. Louis, eight reached Walla Walla. The small herd of cattle suffered a greater loss, for two were eaten *en route*; two calves were lost, and five head were left at Fort Boise, so Spalding appeared at Walla Walla with only eight head. It is presumed that the Hudson's Bay Company made some satisfactory exchange for the cattle left at Boise, which would have increased the number to thirteen. Some of the cattle were shod because of sore feet. On the whole, the cattle came through in good condition. This was not the first time cattle had been driven over this route. Jason Lee's party in 1834 drove two cows from Independence, Missouri, to Fort Walla Walla.²⁷ It is presumed that the mules that the missionaries owned all came through in good condition, although Narcissa made no mention of them in the entry in her Journal, which speaks of the other animals.²⁸

²⁶ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, pp. 56 ff.

²⁷ Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, p. 37. It was important for the missionaries to have their own cattle, for it was contrary to the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company to sell cattle even to their own traders.

²⁸ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 59.

The Spaldings were given the same cordial reception which had been extended to the Whitmans and Gray. They received the east bastion of the Fort for their bedroom. The next day, they assembled in worship, and Narcissa wrote:

Sabbath, 4th.—This has been a day of mutual thanksgiving with us all. Assembled at the Fort at 12 o'clock for worship, our feelings are better imagined than described. This first Sabbath in September, a Sabbath of rest; first after completing a long journey, first in the vicinity of our future labors. All of us here before God.²⁹

The missionaries met Charles Compo at the Fort, who had served as Parker's interpreter the previous year. Evidently it was at that time that Compo told Whitman of his dissatisfaction with the treatment received from Parker. After giving up his chances of hunting and trapping in the fall and winter of 1835-36, Compo went with Mr. Parker as interpreter and companion. No price was agreed upon other than that Parker would pay what was right. Compo claimed that he received but \$18.00 worth of Indian goods for his services. Whitman in relating this to the Board in his letter of May 10, 1839, said: "How could so small a compensation be right?" Compo was obliged to spend the winter with the Indians the best way he could. He expected to meet Parker again in the spring of 1836 to return to the rendezvous, but Parker had different plans. Being in a destitute condition, Compo hired out to the Hudson's Bay Company for two years and remained in the vicinity of Walla Walla. Whitman called Compo "a faithful man."

FORT VANCOUVER

Both Spalding and Whitman realized the necessity of visiting Fort Vancouver, and made immediate preparations for the journey. In the first place, they wanted to present the letter from the U. S. Secretary of War and learn McLoughlin's reaction to their plan to establish a mission in the interior. In the second place, they needed

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*

supplies. They had brought only the barest necessities with them over the mountains. They needed food, equipment, and above all, some understanding by which they could be assured of the continuance of such supplies. Vancouver was three hundred miles away down the river, and the trip could be made by water. The women had the choice of going or staying, but decided to go.

The party left the Fort on September 6 with Mr. Pambrun, in a boat propelled by six oarsmen. Usually the trip took five days, but due to adverse winds, the party did not arrive until the 12th of September. There they were given a cordial welcome by Dr. McLoughlin, who conducted the missionaries to his own house. Dr. McLoughlin told them that Parker had sailed on June 18. It is a debatable question as to whether or not Parker left definite word regarding his choice of mission sites with either Pambrun or McLoughlin. If we are to believe Whitman, this was not the case.³⁰

The missionaries were much impressed with the developed conditions they found at Fort Vancouver. McLoughlin had a five-acre garden, besides orchards, and about three thousand acres under cultivation. The Fort had many buildings, including a sawmill, a dairy, and stores. Spalding gave a brief description in the letter he wrote back to friends in the East, dated October 2, 1836.

Doct. McLoughlin's farm is the largest on the Columbia river, and produced last year 4,500 bushels of wheat, 4,000 bushels of peas, 1,700 of barley, 1,500 of oats, potatoes not gathered, corn but little. His horned cattle are 750, swine 400 with from 200 to 300 horses.³¹

To the disappointment of the two women, they found no geese at Vancouver, for they had hopes of securing a feather bed. Narcissa succeeded, however, in obtaining

³⁰ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 67, Mrs. Whitman wrote: "Mr. Parker recommends a place on the Kooskooska (Clearwater) river, six days ride above Walla Walla." No doubt Parker talked the matter over with the Indians, who had some definite recommendations for the Spaldings and Whitmans.

³¹ Spalding letter No. 12. Spalding's account harmonizes with W. A. Slacum's account. Slacum visited Vancouver in the spring of 1837. See *O.H.Q.*, Vol. 13, p. 186.

sufficient feathers from the wild fowl to make one, and probably Eliza did likewise.³²

Dr. McLoughlin invited the women to stay at the Fort over the winter, thus giving the men an opportunity to locate their stations and erect some buildings. The women, however, were not in favor of so long a separation, and declared their willingness to remain only for the length of time necessary for the men to locate a station. It was therefore arranged that the men should go back to Walla Walla with provisions, and send for the women later.

The men found that they could obtain nearly everything they needed from the Hudson's Bay Company's store at Vancouver. They purchased altogether £371.8.1 worth of goods.³³ Spalding drew a sight draft for that amount on the treasurer of the American Board.³⁴ Spalding's account of his share of the goods purchased was as follows:

House furniture	35. 2.7
Clothing	15. 4.8
Farming Utensils	27. 4.3
Provisions	30. 4.5
For building	11. 0.8
Indian goods for trade for labor, etc	30. 6.7
Books and stationery	2.11.6
Transportation of goods and labor not native	20.18.5
	<hr/>
	£172.13.1 ³⁵

Whitman's share of the bill amounted to £188.7.2, while Gray, who was single and had no house to build for himself, accounted for £10.7.10.³⁶

WAILLATPU

Before they left Vancouver, it seems to have been the accepted decision that there were to be two stations. One of these was to be with the Cayuse Indians in the vicinity

³² *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 87.

³³ The Hudson's Bay Company used English money.

³⁴ A copy of this draft is in Coll. W. dated Nov. 2, 1836.

³⁵ Copy, Coll. W.

³⁶ Whitman to Greene, May 5, 1837. Coll. A.

of Walla Walla, and the other with the Nez Percés in the vicinity of the mouth of the Clearwater. Many have wondered why the missionaries should have divided their small group. One of the most common explanations given is the love affair that was supposed to have once existed between Henry and Narcissa. As has already been pointed out, there is no evidence for accepting such a theory.

Whatever the source of trouble between Henry and Narcissa might have been, it appears certain that this was the real reason for the separation. Certainly Spalding's impetuous statement made in the East before leaving remained a source of difficulty. It rankled in Whitman's mind. Gray, in a letter to the Board dated October 14, 1840, wrote:

He Whitman said that the difficulty was between Mr. Spalding and his wife. Mr. Spalding had said more publicly than it would be for him to repeat it here "That he (Mr. Spalding) would not come on a mission with Mrs. Whitman." He felt that he had been injured by Mr. Spalding by the reports he had circulated from town to town in the United States.³⁷

In this same letter Gray stated that Spalding and Whitman had quarreled twice on the way out, and perhaps three times: "... at the Pawnee village, at Fort Boise on the Snake River, at Walla Walla on the Columbia." The latter time may have been before it was decided to have two stations. It is possible that the Spaldings and Whitmans agreed to have two stations at the time of the conversation in the Howard inn. Whitman may have made that promise then in order to win Spalding's consent to a change of destination.

On Wednesday, September 21, Spalding, Whitman, Gray, and Pambrun left Vancouver for Walla Walla. The boats were heavily loaded with supplies. They reached Walla Walla on September 30. The first place decided upon for a mission station was Wailatpu (the place of the rye grass), about twenty-two miles east of the Fort. The site selected was on the north bank of the Walla Walla River, near the mouth of what came to be called

³⁷ Gray to Greene, Oct. 14, 1840. Coll. A.

Mill Creek. The Walla Walla River was lined with trees, and the Blue Mountains, some twenty-five miles distant, had heavy timber. The soil was rich and suitable for agriculture. The site combined many natural advantages.³⁸

The selection of Wailatpu for the Whitman home meant that the Whitmans would labor especially with the Cayuse³⁹ tribe, who numbered from two to three hundred members and were rich in horses. Not far away were the Umatilla Indians, among whom Whitman also ministered.

LAPWAI⁴⁰

After deciding upon the Wailatpu location, the men returned to the Fort. Gray was left to take supplies out to the site, and to gather materials for a house, while Spalding and Whitman visited the Nez Perce country. Tack-en-su-a-tis was at Walla Walla, waiting to guide them to his country. About the 7th of October the party set out for the Clearwater Valley, more than a hundred miles away. On the 8th, they rode twenty-five miles and then camped over the Sabbath, which was spent in rest and worship.

The chief called his people together for worship, but because no competent interpreter was present, the missionaries could do little. The Indians manifested such eagerness to find out how to pray and how to worship, that Spalding's heart was touched: "Oh that I may soon be settled among them, and master of their language, so as to point them to the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world."

The whole party rode fifty-two miles on Monday, October 10, and reached the mouth of the Clearwater. That evening Spalding and Whitman witnessed a large group of the Nez Percés at prayer. They were assembled on their knees in a circle and were repeating the Lord's

³⁸ About five miles west of the present city of Walla Walla, Wash.

³⁹ The cayuse pony gets its name from this tribe.

⁴⁰ Lapwai is a corruption of Nez Perce words meaning "Butterfly Valley."

Prayer, taught to them by Parker. The two white men were deeply moved.

The Nez Perces had chosen a site for a mission station on the Lapwai Creek, which empties into the Kooskoosky or Clearwater about ten miles above the mouth of the Clearwater. As the party went up along the banks of the Clearwater, Spalding's heart grew heavier and heavier. He wanted a broad flat plain for farming purposes, like Whitman's. And there along the Clearwater, the hills rose to an elevation of about 2,700 feet on either side, and crowded down upon the river.⁴¹ How could one farm there?

Spalding gave the following description of that first trip to Lapwai:

However, the appearance of the country for the last half day greatly discouraged us. It was very mountainous and broken; the vallies were narrow and without good soil. As we drew near the place we were still more discouraged. . . . I was riding far behind, almost disheartened. I thought it was all over with the poor Nez Perces. To take them from their country would prove ruinous to the nation, and to commence an establishment, without soil or timber, would prove equally ruinous to the mission.

Tack-en-su-a-tis noticed Spalding's despondency. He checked his horse to ride with the white men.

After riding some time with his hand to his face, he turned to Doct. Whitman and said: "We are now near the place where there is good land, if any where in the Nez Perce country. Perhaps it will not answer, but if it does I am happy. This is all my country and where he (meaning myself) settles, I shall settle. And he need not think he will work by himself: only let us know what he wants done, and it shall be done."

The Clearwater Valley is rather bleak in the first part of October. The hills have no timber, and since but little rain falls during the summer months, they are then usually covered with grass, dried and browned by the sun. The one hopeful thing which Spalding noticed was the absence of the sage plant, which made him feel that perhaps after all the country was not a desert.

⁴¹ Lewiston, Idaho, where the Snake leaves the state, is about six hundred feet above sea level, hence the hills rise about 2,100 feet above the river.

About ten miles from the mouth of the Clearwater they entered a large valley on the south side of the river, through which the Lapwai Creek runs. The valley was wide enough for cultivation, being about half a mile from foothill to foothill. There was some small timber along the creek. About two and a half miles up the creek from its mouth, the missionaries found a site that promised sufficiently good soil. Spalding wrote:

The Indians could scarcely contain themselves for joy when they heard us pronounce the word good. They had watched every motion with trembling anxiety, as though life and death were at stake. We rode late and camped, thankful that the Lord had been better to us than our fears.⁴²

The next day, Wednesday, October 12, Spalding picked out a building site at the foot of Thunder Mountain, on the south side, in the vicinity of a good spring of water.⁴³ Having decided on the location of the mission, Spalding announced his plan of returning at once to Vancouver for the women. He asked the Indians to meet him in Walla Walla in five weeks to assist him in taking his goods to Lapwai. They quickly assured him that they would be there, and inquired as to whether or not they could cut logs and have them ready for his return, but being fearful that they would not do it correctly he instructed them to wait until he returned.⁴⁴

SPALDING RETURNS FOR THE WOMEN

Spalding and Whitman arrived back at the Fort in time for Spalding to engage passage with the annual Hudson's Bay express from Montreal to Vancouver.⁴⁵ In

⁴² Spalding letter No. 11, although dated Sept. 20, at Vancouver, was in reality a journal which included subsequent events. This letter gives the details of the first trip to Lapwai.

⁴³ There is a monument at Spalding, Idaho, which states that "The First Home, the First School and the First Church in Idaho" were at that place. The first home was more than two miles up the creek. It was not until the summer of 1838 that the Spaldings moved to the bank of the Clearwater.

⁴⁴ Spalding frequently took latitude and longitude readings on his trips. His readings for Lapwai were—lat. 46° 30', long. 118° 30'. *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 33, p. 428.

⁴⁵ The express left Vancouver each spring, ascended the Columbia for about nine hundred miles, and then cut across Canada, and returned in the fall.

the meantime Gray and Whitman commenced building a house at Waiilatpu, which measured thirty by thirty-six feet. A large lean-to was constructed at first, which contained bedrooms, a kitchen, and a pantry.

Spalding arrived at Vancouver on October 18, much to the surprise of McLoughlin, who had not expected him back so soon. On November 3, the Spaldings and Mrs. Whitman, with more baggage and supplies, started up the river. McLeod accompanied them as far as Walla Walla, which they reached on November 13. The usual trip up the river took ten days. Several portages had to be made both going and coming. The return trip for the women was particularly disagreeable due to the frequent and heavy rains.

Whitman and Gray had worked hard trying to complete a decent shelter for Mrs. Whitman. They returned to the Fort on the 18th. On Sunday, the 20th, all five were together for their last Sunday's worship before separating. On Tuesday, the 22nd, the Spaldings and Gray with their Indian escort of about one hundred and twenty-five started for Lapwai. The Indians were eager to do everything within their power for the missionaries. Of the trip Spalding wrote:

They took entire direction of everything, pitched and struck our tent, saddled our horses, and gladly would have put victuals to our mouths, had we wished it. So eager were they to do all they could to make us comfortable, I was astonished at the ease with which they handled and packed our heavy bags and cases, the latter sixteen inches square, thirty inches long, and weighing usually 125 pounds each. Our effects loaded twenty horses.⁴⁶

Estimating the average load for the horses at two hundred and fifty pounds, this meant that the Spaldings took with them about five thousand pounds of goods and provisions. But that included everything, clothing, some food, machinery, furniture, books, such building material as hardware and glass, etc. A fair distribution of the live stock brought from the States was made; Spalding took five cows, one bull, and two calves of the cattle.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Spalding letter No. 14.

⁴⁷ Spalding letter No. 16.

On November 22, a long pack train left Fort Walla Walla for Lapwai. Mrs. Whitman said goodby with regret. "This dear sister goes very cheerfully to her location," she wrote, "expecting to live in a skin lodge until her house is built; and this, too, in the dead of winter; but she prefers it to remaining here, and so should I."⁴⁸ Mrs. Whitman remained at the Fort a few days, giving her husband a chance to finish his home. On Saturday evening, December 10, Whitman ushered his bride into their home. Their bridal tour was over.

THE LAPWAI HOME

The Spalding party arrived at their destination on Tuesday, November 29, 1836, having rested on the Sabbath *en route*. On February 16, 1837, Spalding wrote to Greene saying:

On approaching this valley my feelings were peculiar. Ten months had rolled away, rising every morning, only to seek a new place to lay our heads at night. Now we are to camp for life and when our lodge of buffalo hides was pitched we welcomed it as our home and looked upon it with as much satisfaction doubtless, as any prince ever did upon his new built palace.⁴⁹

Their long journey was over!

Spalding was not always accurate with his figures, yet his estimate of the distances covered is most interesting:

Holland Patent to Pittsburgh on snow	629 miles
Pittsburgh to Liberty on steamer	1521
Liberty to W.W. via Council Bluffs, horse	2300
W.W. to Vancouver and back by batteaus	320
W.W. to Lapwai	125
Whole distance of Mrs. Spalding	5215
Slept on ground, rocks or snow	3065
Whole distance of self	6155

⁴⁸ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 89.

⁴⁹ Spalding letter No. 14. Mrs. Spalding wrote in her Diary upon their arrival at Lapwai: "Yesterday reached this desirable spot, where we expect to dwell the remnant of our earthly pilgrimage. As yet our dwelling is an Indian lodge, which must serve us some time, for there is no preparation for building yet. Blessed be God that we have been spared to accomplish a long & tedious journey . . ."

Mrs. Whitman	4890
Doct's year befor	6900
Whole distance of Doct from beginning to end to get to his mission work	11790 ⁵⁰

The Spaldings lived in the lodge⁵¹ of buffalo hides for three weeks and three days, during which time Spalding and Gray, assisted by the willing hands of the Indians, erected a house forty-two by eighteen feet.⁵² Some of the logs were carried up from the Kooskoosky, more than two miles away, on the shoulders of the Indians. A saw pit was constructed so that boards could be whipsawed for the floors. The roof was made out of timbers laid close together. Over this a layer of grass was placed, and then a layer of clay. Spalding learned from experience that such a roof was very unsatisfactory, for at times it leaked mud.

The house was divided into two parts. Eighteen feet at one end was partitioned off for the living quarters of the missionaries. Mrs. Spalding wrote saying that that part furnished them "a comfortable room with a but-tery, closet and recess."⁵³ The other end of the building, a room twenty-four by eighteen, was used for mission purposes—school, assembly room, etc.

Winter came upon them before the house was finished. Eighteen inches of snow fell about the 13th of December, yet on February 16, 1837, Spalding was able to write to Greene, saying:

We have now, through the astonishing favor of a kind Providence, a house eighteen by forty-two completed, with the exception of two doors, two windows, and a part of the under floor. . . . All the timber and stone for the building were brought by the Indians, and they performed much of the labor of filling and putting on the roof. Until the place of worship was finished, we assembled for

⁵⁰ Original in Coll. W.

⁵¹ It usually took about thirty buffalo skins to make a lodge fifteen feet in diameter. Sometimes skins were used to make a double wall from the ground up about three feet along the sides, thus preventing a draft and insuring ventilation to take out the smoke from the fire in the center.

⁵² Spalding letter No. 13. The dimensions have been reported as 48 by 18 feet. McBeth, *Nez Perces*, p. 44.

⁵³ Spalding letter No. 13.

morning and evening prayers and worship on the Sabbath in the open air, and sometimes, before we closed the exercises, our bare heads would be covered with snow. We might as well hold back the sun in his march, as hold back the minds of this people from religious inquiry.⁵⁴

The Spaldings moved into their new home on Friday, December 23. The restless Gray was off for Walla Walla on the 28th of the month.⁵⁵ His inclination "to do good on his own hook" was already beginning to assert itself. Rather than remain and help the Spaldings and the Whitmans get fully settled, he was already dreaming about returning to the States for reënforcements. He talked about establishing a new mission station among the Flatheads.

The year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-six came to a close with Marcus and Narcissa Whitman happily located at Wailatpu, and Henry and Eliza Spalding equally as happy in their home at Lapwai. The Macedonian call of the Nez Perce delegation to St. Louis five years earlier had been heard and answered. A long and difficult journey had come to its end. A wagon had been taken nearly to Fort Hall, and a cart as far west as Fort Boise. The first white women had crossed the mountains—the first of thousands to cross in later years. The first home in what is now Idaho had been established by the Spaldings, pioneers of Old Oregon.

⁵⁴ Spalding letter No. 14.

⁵⁵ Gray, *Oregon*, p. 167, states that he left the 22nd of Dec. In Gray's Journal, *Whit. Coll. Quar.*, June, 1913, he says that he left on the 28th. This later date agrees with what Spalding wrote in his letter of Feb. 16, 1837 to Greene.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE FIRST TWO YEARS

FOR nearly two years after their arrival in Old Oregon, the Spaldings at Lapwai and the Whitmans at Waiilatpu labored alone. Gray went east in 1837 after reënforcements. He guided back the only addition that the Oregon Mission of the American Board ever received. They reached Waiilatpu about the first of September, 1838. This chapter, therefore, will tell the story of the missionary labors of the Spaldings for 1837 and the first eight months of 1838.

THE NEZ PERCE MISSION HOUSE

The first letters the Spaldings sent to their relatives and friends in the East were dated from "The Nez Perce Mission House." It was not until they had moved to the banks of the Clearwater River that they dated their letters from "Clear Water River."

The Nez Perce Mission House was built in the winter of 1836-37. Gray remained more than three weeks to assist in its erection, but left long before it was finally finished. Although the Spaldings moved into it on December 23, it still lacked "two doors, two windows, and a part of the under floor" as late as February 16, 1837, according to Spalding's letter of that date.¹ Spalding dug a cellar under his living quarters for storage purposes. He made a rough sled and, with the help of the Indians, moved enough stone to the site to erect a chimney with two fireplaces. Nearly everything in the way of household furniture had to be constructed by hand out of such materials as were available. Spalding wrote to Gray on February 20, and stated that his house had "three windows, four doors, buttery, closet, recess for bed, cedar bedstead and table."²

¹ Spalding letter No. 14.

² Spalding letter No. 15.

Bullard in his letter of recommendation to the Board regarding Spalding had said: "He can turn his hand to almost any kind of handy work." If ever such talent was needed, it was at Lapwai, where the first white home³ in what is now the state of Idaho was being established. "Bless the day," wrote Spalding, "that shone upon the first manual labor college."⁴ Both Western Reserve College and Lane Theological Seminary were "manual labor" institutions, in that they provided opportunities for the students to earn all or part of their expenses.

The Spaldings were left to their own devices to provide for themselves the best they could. In this they had the assistance of the friendly but uncivilized Indians, who were eager to do what they could. Henry and Eliza must have suffered many privations, but only rarely do we find either of them making reference to such experiences, and then only incidentally and never in a complaining spirit. Instead, we find Eliza writing in her first letter home after reaching Lapwai:

3 springs of excellent water near, one enclosed in our door yard, for by the by, we have a rude fence around the house, made by the Indians who appear to be delighted to be employed about something that will benefit us. I think I can truly say that we are satisfied and happy with our employment and situation. As to the comforts and necessities of life, we have an abundance. Even while living in our lodge, Mr. Gray would often say "what would our friends at home give to know how comfortable and happy we are." I often wish, I could know that all my friends are as comfortable and happy as we consider ourselves.⁵

The Indians were eager to provide such food as was possible. They brought fish from the well-stocked streams. "For two months past," wrote Spalding on May 1, 1837, "we have had a plenty of fresh Trout, usu-

³ Other white settlements had preceded this, as the settlement at Fort Hall. These, however, were by traders and trappers who never considered them as their permanent abiding place. These could hardly be called homes without the presence of women.

⁴ Spalding letter No. 14.

⁵ Spalding letter No. 13. This letter went around the Horn, and bears a Boston postmark for March 7 (1838?). About 1886 it was brought back to Idaho. I discovered it, with seven other original Spalding letters, in the summer of 1934. All are now in Coll. P.—C.M.D.

ally weighing from 8 to 10 lbs." During the summer and fall the salmon would come up from the ocean and many of these were caught by the Indians to be dried for winter use. In September, Spalding went to one of the fisheries and saw the Indians catch "202 large salmon weighing from 10 to 25 lbs." Spalding was given forty salmon which he salted down in four kegs. He wrote to Greene of the experience and added: "There were probably as many taken at 50 other stations in the Nez Perce country. . . . This fishery will always be of great importance to this mission."⁶

In addition to fish, the Indians furnished fresh game. On February 20, 1837, Spalding wrote to Gray, speaking of food and other items of interest, as follows:

The hames of 15 or 20 deer—the quarters of 12 came one day, salted and jirked for summer use. We have plenty of fresh meat on hand, a fine red heifer calf three weeks old. . . . A second generation of lice on the old mare.⁷

Before leaving Walla Walla, Spalding sent a party of Nez Perces to Fort Colville for food supplies. They brought to Lapwai "one pack of pork, two of peas, seven of corn, and eight of flour, each pack of flour weighing ninety pounds,"⁸ arriving about December 5. Thus the Spaldings were able to obtain sufficient food supplies until they had the opportunity to raise such things as were needed.

SPALDING INTRODUCES AGRICULTURE

Right at the beginning of his ministry with the Nez Perces Spalding saw the necessity of settling the Indians and of teaching them the arts of civilized life. His insistence upon this policy later got him into trouble with his associates, but Spalding never wavered in his conviction that the Indians had to be settled if they were to be saved.

While crossing the plains, Spalding had noted that

⁶ Spalding letter No. 18.

⁷ Spalding letter No. 15.

⁸ Spalding letter No. 14.

the buffalo were even then becoming scarce. He wrote from the rendezvous to Greene:

What is done for the poor Indians of this western world must be done soon. The only thing that can save them from annihilation is the introduction of civilization. Their only means of support which is buffalo is fast diminishing. It is observed by those acquainted that in ten years there will probably not be a buffalo in the country. The Pawnees who once were surrounded by Buffalo to their very villages now have to go from 3 to 200 miles to obtain their meat. Maj. Pilcher says the Sioux travel 10, 15 and 20 days to find buffalo, having nothing but roots to subsist on. In the summer they endure it, but in the winter they die by the hundreds.⁹

Spalding soon saw that consistent and effective religious training depended upon the continual presence of the Indians, yet under their old method of living that was impossible as long as they depended upon hunting for food. He accordingly planned to put as many acres under cultivation in the spring of 1837 as was possible. On February 16 Spalding wrote to Greene, saying that he hoped to cultivate one hundred acres; and on the 20th he wrote to Gray, saying that he had found some cedar "for the wood of my ploughs—the chip and mold board are of large roots."¹⁰ These homemade plows do not appear to have been very successful. He soon realized his need for further supplies, such as seed, and perhaps such tools as hoes, etc. He decided to go to Fort Colville, where the Hudson's Bay Company had a post, in order to purchase such things as were needed.

FIRST TRIP TO SPOKANE

Spalding left Lapwai on March 27, 1837, with five Nez Perces and twenty horses for Fort Colville. His wife remained at Lapwai, the only white person in an encampment of 1,500 Indians. Spalding found deep snow in the vicinity of the present city of Spokane, which made traveling very difficult. At times the horses were able to make but one mile an hour. He reached Spokane Falls late in the afternoon of the fourth day. There he met

⁹ Spalding letter No. 10.

¹⁰ Spalding letters Nos. 14 and 15.

Gray with Frank Ermatinger of the Hudson's Bay Company, who worked especially with the Flatheads.¹¹ Spalding and Gray had several conferences together about the advisability of Gray's returning to the States for reënforcements.

While at Spokane, Spalding and Gray met Spokane Garry and were very much impressed with the efforts that Garry had made to improve the lot of his own people. They saw the schoolhouse which Garry had built, measuring twenty by fifty feet. Spalding conducted a service for the Spokanes on Sunday, April 2, using Garry as his interpreter.¹² Such a favorable reception was undoubtedly one of the factors which made both Gray and Spalding feel that it was wise for Gray to return east and seek reënforcement. The field, indeed, was ripe unto harvest, and the laborers were few.

Horses were cheap among the Indians as compared with their cost in the States. The price varied from \$8.00 to \$14.00 apiece, depending upon their condition. Spalding and Gray discussed the idea of Gray's taking horses east and exchanging them for cattle or sheep. The Indians wanted cattle and could not get them from the Hudson's Bay Company. Spalding saw the value of cattle in getting the Indians settled, and agreed to talk with the Nez Percés about their sharing in the plan upon his return to Lapwai.

The traveling to Spokane was so extremely difficult that the Indians refused to go farther. They said it was too hard on the horses. They offered to go on foot the remaining sixty miles to Fort Colville and transport what was needed on their backs to Spokane. This, however, Spalding was unwilling for them to do. Spokane Garry had been raising potatoes with some success, and from his supply provided fifteen bushels for Spalding for seed purposes. With such other supplies as he had been able to get at Spokane, Spalding started back to Lapwai on Monday, April 3.

¹¹ The Flathead name was often applied to the Spokane (then spelled Spokan) Indians.

¹² Gray, *Journal*, *Whit. Coll. Quar.*, June, 1913, p. 16.

Melting snows had filled the Palouse River to the brim, and it was with great difficulty that the party crossed that stream. They reached Lapwai on April 7 and found that the Indian population had increased to 2,000 during their absence. On May 1, 1837, Spalding wrote his first letter from the Nez Perce Mission House to the Hart family, in which he described his trip. He wrote:

Eliza suffered no inconvenience from my absence, except an increase of labor, as the people continued to come for medicine & with questions of more or less importance to be settled, as when I am present.¹³

THE FIRST SPRING PLANTING

Shortly before starting for the north Spalding had tried some of his eastern horses at plowing. To his disappointment he found that they were not sufficiently recovered from the hard trip over the mountains to do the work. Describing this experience to Eliza's parents, he said: "The Indians saw my difficulty & said, 'let not your heart cry' i. e. (be not discouraged) give us hoes and we will break all the ground you need.'" So Spalding gave out about thirty hoes and told them to work a week for himself and two weeks for themselves. He agreed to furnish seed.

By the 1st of May the Indians had cultivated and planted fifteen acres for themselves. Spalding found it discouraging and difficult work and soon realized that he could not hope to plant one hundred acres, as he had first planned. The Indians had never done any cultivating and knew nothing of the simplest principles of agriculture. Many of the Indians placed implicit trust in Spalding's declaration that the fruits of the soil would make them independent of the hunt, and refrained from going after their annual supply of game. What a fine example of faith!

Spalding sowed two bushels of peas and planted seven bushels of potatoes on the land which was cultivated for him. The balance of his seed he gave to the Indians. He

¹³ Spalding letter No. 17.

also planted a large assortment of garden vegetables and set out a nursery of apple trees. The true beginning of agriculture and horticulture in Idaho was there at Lapwai.

Spalding called a council of the chiefs and asked for their reaction to the plan of having Gray take some of their horses east and exchange them for cattle. The Indians were well pleased with the plan, and four or five of the Nez Perces offered to accompany Gray with ten or twelve of their best horses. Spalding had succeeded in making the Indians desire better things. He had so won their confidence that they were ready to act upon his advice.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES—EDUCATIONAL

The missionary activities of the Spaldings can be divided into at least four phases, the industrial, the educational, the medical, and the spiritual. Spalding was farmer, teacher, doctor, and preacher, and his wife shared in this variety of tasks.

One of the first requisites was a mastery of the Nez Perce language, and in this both Mr. and Mrs. Spalding made rapid progress. Even before they left the East, they had begun their language study under Richard and John. When the two stations were established, Richard stayed with the Whitmans and John went with the Spaldings. By February 16, 1837, Spalding wrote that he was "enabled to converse quite intelligibly on any subject."¹⁴ In the first flush of enthusiasm, Spalding underestimated the difficulties inherent in the Nez Perce language. He was soon disillusioned in this respect and later became somewhat discouraged over his slowness in mastering the language.

Mrs. Spalding opened a school on January 27. Let her husband describe the first school that was established in what is now Idaho:

. . . and here a scene commenced, more interesting, if possible, than any we had before witnessed. Nothing but actual observation can give an idea of the indefatigable application of old and

¹⁴ Spalding letter No. 14.

young, mothers with babes in their arms, grand-parents and grand-children. Having no books, Mrs. S., with her numerous other cares, is obliged to supply the deficiency with her pen, and print her own books; consequently, she can spend but a short time each day in school. But her absence does not close the school. From morning till night they are assembled in clusters, with one teaching a number of others.¹⁵

The Indians made most promising progress. Spalding reported about one hundred pupils enrolled. He was so busy with his work that he had little time to assist his wife with the school. Mrs. Spalding's training as a farmer's daughter came in just as handy as did her husband's training in a manual labor school. Among other things, she taught a class of Indian girls to sew, assembling them twice a week for that purpose. Some of the girls were taken into the Spalding home and trained to assist in the housework.

THE MEDICAL WORK

Even as Dr. Whitman had studied theology and was called upon to preach to the Indians around his station, so Spalding had studied medicine for a few weeks and was called upon to minister to the sick at Lapwai. The little knowledge of the art of healing which Spalding had learned, together with the few simple remedies such as calomel that he had taken along, was in great demand.

The Nez Perces had their medicine men or *tuh-ah-tee-wats* (sometimes called *tewats*). These medicine men relied upon sorcery and superstition for their cures. They were usually recruited from the young men of the tribe, who went out to the mountains alone, where they remained for several days. There they were supposed to be instructed by the beasts and the birds. Upon their return, they would begin their work of healing the sick. In case the patient recovered, the *tewat* was to be paid with blankets or horses. If the patient died, sometimes the *tewat* escaped responsibility by blaming another for exercising a more powerful influence than his own. Sometimes the family of the deceased would then kill the

¹⁵ Spalding letter No. 17.

accused person, and sometimes it was the *tewat* himself who paid the penalty.

The Spaldings were able to do a great deal for the Indians along the medical line, simply because the Indians lacked the first correct ideas of proper treatment. The missionaries, however, were children of their times and still believed in the efficacy of bleeding. Mrs. Spalding wrote to her parents on February 16, "They are fond of being bled, if they are sick, and Mr. S. has really succeeded in doing some of them the favor. You doubtless remember the fruitless attempts he made while at home to bleed himself."

Spalding continued with his medical work. Writing to his friend, Dr. Allen, of Kinsman, Ohio, on February 18, 1842, Spalding said:

I am no physician, but have more or less sickness to look after, sometimes eight or ten cases on my hands at once, usually bowel complaints caused by eating bad food or too much of it, or in other words, gluttony, requiring, as I suppose, cathartics. These I issue at order sometimes five or six before I am dressed in the morning, not often finding time to go near the patients, especially if they are any distance off; besides by my ignorance I can do as well by ear as by the eye.

In the winter, however, there are many cases of lung complaint occasioned by bare feet in the wet and snow, which often terminates in consumption and death after a lapse of a few years. Blood letting is a favorite remedy among them, and I often go by the lot, opening five or six at a time and go about more pressing business, leaving them to stop the blood when they please. If they cannot get me to open their veins for them they do it themselves with an arrow, digging away until they find the blood from the veins or artery, which they usually dig for, occasioning swelled arms, legs, and sometimes, I believe death.

In this letter Spalding begged his friend to have the goodness to send him "a quart of pills."¹⁶

THE SPIRITUAL WORK

The Spaldings never forgot the object of their mission, which was, to them, the salvation of human souls. While interested in agriculture and sewing and teaching and a hundred other things, they always considered these

¹⁶ Spalding letter No. 44.

as a means to an end. From the very beginning of their ministry at Lapwai, they assembled the Indians for morning and evening prayers, and on Sunday for congregational worship. Spalding used John as his interpreter. Mrs. Spalding, who knew something of painting, made pictorial representations of Bible stories, which greatly appealed to the Indians. Spalding described his method as follows:

My manner of preaching is as follows. We have represented in paintings, several events recorded in the Scriptures, such as the passage through the Red Sea, the crucifixion of Christ, etc. These I explain to my crier. I then go over the subject to the people, the crier correcting my language and carrying out my history.¹⁷

The Indians would tell what they had learned to others, and thus in a short time the whole tribe would know what had been taught. Spalding confessed that he was frequently astonished at the correctness and rapidity which the Indians displayed in mastering what had been given to them. Such experiences gladdened the hearts of Henry and Eliza and confirmed them in their missionary convictions. All of the hardships of their pioneer life were forgotten in the joy of having such results.

Spalding loved music. One of the first things he did was to teach the Nez Perces to sing gospel hymns. It appears that at first the Nez Perces learned the English words, but it was not long before Spalding had translated some songs into their own tongue. On Thursday, February 16, both Mr. and Mrs. Spalding took time off to write letters. Mrs. Spalding wrote her first letter home, while Mr. Spalding wrote to the Board. On the 18th Spalding added a postscript to his letter, in which he described the return of Tack-en-su-a-tis, who had been away for four weeks. During the absence of the chief, the school had been started, and the Indians had learned to sing. The chief was much affected when he saw what had been accomplished. Both Mr. and Mrs. Spalding wrote of this incident and tell substantially the same story.

Mrs. Spalding's account is as follows:

¹⁷ Spalding letter No. 14.

Tacken-su-a-tis, our favorite chief, who came with us from Rendezvous and rendered us great assistance on our journey, has been absent a few weeks to visit a sister, returned 2 days since, came into school this morning, and appeared to be delighted with the exercises, closed as is our custom, with a verse which they sing sweetly. It is the following:

*Glory, honor, praise and power
Be unto the Lamb forever
Jesus Christ is our Redeemer
Hallelujah — Hal — Hal
Praise the Lord.*

After the singing was closed, I observed, that Tack-en-su-a-tis, was bathed in tears, apparently deeply affected by something.¹⁸

After school had been dismissed, the chief confessed that he was so affected by what he had seen that he could not keep the tears back. Spalding invited him to return later in the day and then invited him into their private apartment, where they had a real heart-to-heart talk. The Spaldings in their letters frequently referred to this chief as "the good chief," or "our beloved chief," or "our favorite chief."

THE WHITMAN HOME AT WAILATPU

On March 14, 1837, a girl, the first white child to be born west of the Rocky Mountains, came to the Whitman home at Wailatpu on the twenty-ninth birthday of her mother.¹⁹ She was named Alice Clarissa, after her two grandmothers. She was the Whitman's first and only child. Narcissa in her letter of March 30 to her parents called the babe "a treasure invaluable," and wrote of the daily visits of the Cayuse chiefs and the Indian women, who called her a "Cayuse te-mi (Cayuse girl)."

The experiences of the Spaldings at Lapwai were duplicated to a large extent by those which the Whit-

¹⁸ Spalding letter No. 13.

¹⁹ There is some dispute as to whether or not she was the first white child born west of the Rockies. *Wash. Hist. Quar.*, Vol. 12, p. 69, gives the honor to Marcel Isadore Bernier, reputed to have been born at Spokane, Nov. 10, 1819. See also *W.H.Q.*, Vol. 4, p. 42. If Bernier's parents were both white, then Mrs. Spalding and Mrs. Whitman were not the first white women to cross the Rockies. The Bernier claim is unsupported by documentary evidence.

mans had at Waiilatpu. Narcissa also wrote about the medicine men, the *tewats*. She once wrote about this interesting incident:

Last Saturday the war chief died at Walla Walla. He was a Cayuse, and a relative of Umtippe; was sick but six days; employed the same Walla Walla te-wat Umtippe sent for, but he died in his hands. The same day Yo-he-kis-kis, a younger brother of Umtippe, went to Walla Walla; arrived about twilight, and shot the te-wat dead. Thus they are avenged.

This stern Indian custom should be remembered in the light of subsequent events. Dr. Whitman's life was sometimes threatened because as a doctor he was not always successful in keeping all of his patients alive. "It has been, and still is the case with them," wrote Narcissa, "when one dies in your care they will hold you responsible for his life, and you are in great danger of being killed."²⁰

Whitman wrote to Greene on May 5, 1837, and reported the fact that additional purchases had been made from the Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver for £102.13.1, and a draft drawn upon the American Board for the same. This bill of expense was divided as follows among the three men: Whitman—£26.12.10; Spalding—£32.13.1; and Gray £43.7.2.²¹ By adding these sums to the payments made at Fort Vancouver the previous fall and converting the pounds into dollars, we find that the following approximate figures are made: Whitman—\$1,042.50; Spalding—\$994.25; Gray—\$208.55, a total of \$2,245.30. This was in addition to the sum of \$2,800.00 drawn by Whitman before the party crossed the mountains, making the total cost of the Oregon mission to the American Board to be more than \$5,000.00. It should also be remembered that the cost of exchange made these drafts about ten per cent more when paid by the Board.

Whitman was not in favor of Gray's proposed trip east with Indian horses and persuaded the Cayuses not to coöperate in the undertaking. He appeared, however, to

²⁰ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, pp. 90 ff.

²¹ Whitman to Greene, May 5, 1837. Coll. A.

have been in favor of Gray's going for reënforcements. Gray left in the spring of 1837 for the States.

SPALDING VISITS COLVILLE

It was Spalding's ambition to make his mission self-supporting. In order to do that, however, he felt it necessary to get a yoke of oxen to aid in cultivation, and some swine. These he hoped to get at the Hudson's Bay post at Colville. Evidently some arrangement had been made with the Company by which they granted permission for the selling of these animals, a procedure contrary to their established custom. Spalding also realized the absolute necessity of obtaining further food supplies for the coming winter. His first attempt at farming would not produce enough to supply his needs and those of the Indians who camped at Lapwai.

On August 28 Spalding again left his wife alone at Lapwai and started out with a string of seventy-five horses and nineteen men for Colville. This time traveling conditions were good, and they reached their destination on September 1, having made the trip in five days, averaging about forty miles a day. The Indians in the vicinity of Colville showed great curiosity when word reached them that a "black coat" was coming. Many rode out to meet him. "Of course," wrote Spalding, "I must preach every night, though a hard day's ride, of some forty or fifty miles, left me more inclined to take a rest, than to summon up my whole soul to make a first speech to a new tribe almost every camp."

The Indians thought nothing of traveling. They were accustomed to a wandering life, so it was nothing to them to ride out and meet Spalding and even accompany him for several days on his return trip. Writing to Greene from Colville, Spalding said: "I shall probably be followed by hundreds, and perhaps thousands, for several days on my way home, to hear something about Jesus Christ every night." Such a report printed in the *Missionary Herald* created much additional interest among the churches of the East in the Oregon mission.²²

²² Spalding letter No. 18. See also *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 34, p. 386.

At Colville, Spalding met Archibald McDonald, who was then factor in charge of that post. McDonald showed Spalding every courtesy and was helpful in supplying all of Spalding's needs. Spalding secured his coveted yoke of oxen, three swine, twelve hundred pounds of flour, besides numerous other articles needed at Lapwai. Before he left Colville, "the Pondarays²³ arrived in great numbers to get a sight at the 'black coat,' and followed me on my return for two days, many on foot, to hear me speak at night." Two of the chiefs from this tribe accompanied Spalding to Lapwai and remained there several weeks. Spalding started back on the 5th of September and reached Lapwai on the 12th.²⁴

ELIZA SPALDING BORN

On November 7,²⁵ 1837, Dr. and Mrs. Whitman with their baby girl, then less than eight months old, started for the Spalding home at Lapwai. It was quite an undertaking to take so young a baby so far on horseback. They met with adverse weather. It rained much of the time *en route* and once it snowed. On the 15th Mrs. Spalding gave birth to a daughter. They called her Eliza. She had the honor of being the first white child born within the boundaries of the present state of Idaho, and the first white child born west of the Rocky Mountains to live to maturity.²⁶

A hint of the joy the two families experienced in being together again is to be found in the following extract from Whitman's letter of March 12, 1838, to the Board: "It was with no common emotion that we met after a years absence & so far as Mrs. Spalding was con-

²³ The Pend d'Oreille Indians lived by the lake of that name in what is now northern Idaho.

²⁴ Spalding letter No. 18.

²⁵ Whitman to Greene, Mar. 12, 1838. Coll. A. Also Mrs. Whitman, Mar. 14, 1838, *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, pp. 97 ff. She states that they left on Nov. 8.

²⁶ Eliza Spalding Warren died at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, on June 21, 1919. Funeral services were conducted by Dr. Robert Hunter of the Presbyterian Church there, June 23. She was buried at Brownsville, Oregon.

cerned the year was spent without seeing any civilized friend after Brother Gray left the December previous."

On Sunday, November 26, the small band of missionaries of the American Board in Oregon, observed both sacraments of the Protestant church in that rudely constructed log cabin on Lapwai Creek. Let Narcissa tell the story:

On the last Sabbath before we left Brother Spalding's we had the unspeakable satisfaction of giving away our dear babes to God in baptism and having the seal of that blessed covenant placed upon their foreheads. Surely, dear mother, if this is a comfort to mothers in a Christian land, it is doubly so in the midst of heathen. We also had the privilege of commemorating the dying love of the Saviour, a blessing which we have not enjoyed since we sat at the table with our beloved friends in Angelica on the eve of our marriage.²⁷

This letter, which was written March 14, 1838, also carried this pathetic statement: "More than two years have passed since I left my father's home and not a single word has been wafted hence, or, perhaps I should say, has greeted my ears to afford consolation in a desponding hour."²⁸ It is indeed difficult to understand why there was such delay in getting letters from the East.

On Saturday, December 2, the Whitman family started back to Wailatpu. The return journey was by a log canoe. The next spring the two mothers agreed by letter to keep the hour from eight to nine o'clock each morning as "a season of special and united prayer."²⁹ Even though they could not be together very often, it helped each to remember that at that time the other was engaged in prayer and meditation. The arrival of a daughter in each home bound the two women closer together.

Eliza was just as popular with the Nez Perces as Alice Clarissa was with the Cayuses. Once Mrs. Spalding wrote:

²⁷ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 100. In 1915, when 78 years old, she was presented to a great audience at the annual convention of the Inland Empire Sunday School Association in Spokane.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Mrs. Spalding, Diary, March 28, 1838.

Little Eliza is a great favorite with the natives, both old and young, and they are so determined to take her into their own arms, that they sometimes almost rend her from mine, and frequently when I am busy about my work, take her from the cradle and not unfrequently I have the mortification to pick a flea or a louse from her clothes, but these are little things and I will say no more about them at present.³⁰

JASON LEE VISITS THE OREGON MISSION

In the spring of 1838, Jason Lee, head of the Methodist mission in the Willamette River valley, started east with several companions. He visited the Whitmans at Waiilatpu from April 14th to the 17th, and finding that time permitted, he went to Lapwai to see the Spaldings. He remained there until the 23rd of April. It is most interesting to read the account of his visit. The following are extracts from his letter written at Walla Walla, April 25, 1838, to his nephew Daniel Lee:

I visited Mr. W. & Mr. S. and find them getting on well with their Indians. Both are instructing the Indians in the Nez Perce language. Mrs. S. has made a small book in the language, printed it with a pen, and the children have made several copies which they sing very well. The Indians have acquired a good deal of scripture knowledge.

Lee wrote that Spalding had "his troubles with them [i. e. the Indians], the truth is they are *Indians*." And so he makes the further surprising statement: "Both Mr. W. and Mr. S. use highhanded measure with their people, and when they deserve it let them feel the *lash*." Lee advised his co-workers along the Willamette to be firm. "Let not the Indians trifle with you, let them know that you must be respected, and whenever they intentionally transgress bounds, make them feel the weight of your displeasure."³¹

Here is the first reference in contemporary documents to the use of the lash by the missionaries. It appears that this method was used more by Spalding than by Whitman. For one thing, Spalding had a quicker temper, while Whitman was more deliberate. It is hard

³⁰ Spalding letter No. 20.

³¹ Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, pp. 94 ff.

for us to pass judgment when all of the factors are not known to us. We must remember that these few white people were living among uncivilized Indians, and perhaps times did arise when the only language the natives understood was that of force.

Lee made special mention of the progress that both stations had made in agriculture. At Wailatpu, the Indians used some wooden plows, tipped with iron. At Lapwai, they had only hoes. He wrote: "Some of the Nez Perce came to the Doctor's for potatoes to plant, a distance of 300 mi. I was astonished to see the industry of these Indians."

Lee felt that both Spalding and Whitman were foolish to establish their stations so far apart, when "there was not absolute necessity for it." He also wrote: "Mr. S. did not tell me, but Mr. Pambrun says that he was obliged to fly to his double barrel gun to protect himself from some rascals who were laying hold on him." In spite of such incidents, which must have been rare, Lee testified that the Indians of the upper Columbia, among whom Spalding and Whitman worked, were "certainly superior to those upon the Willamette."³²

While Lee was with Spalding and Whitman, he gave a glowing account of what he intended to do in the States for the Methodist mission. Already that church had sent out a reënforcement of twenty in the year 1837. That number looked big to Spalding and Whitman, who labored alone. Yet Lee talked about bringing back many more. In fact, he was successful in obtaining from his Board an appropriation of \$40,000.00 and the appointment of fifty-one additional workers.³³ Spalding and Whitman listened a bit enviously, for they realized how few they were in point of numbers. Surely the American Board would be as generous with them as the Methodist Board had been with Jason Lee. Nearly every letter that Spalding and Whitman sent to the Board during the early years of their mission contained pleas for additional workers. Lee's presence and words prompted them

³² *Ibid.*

³³ These reënforcements sailed on Oct. 9, 1838, on the *Lausane*, which had been chartered especially for the trip.

to address a joint communication to the Board on the subject. The following is an extract from their letter dated April 21, 1838:

To occupy these fields immediately, we ask as the least possible number which God & our consciences will admit us to name, for 30 ordained missionaries, 30 farmers, 30 school teachers, 10 physicians & 10 mechanics, with their wives.³⁴

They asked for a total of two hundred and twenty men and women! These were to be sent out "with the least possible delay"! The letter was written by Spalding and signed by both. The following paragraph summarizes their mission policy:

We believe that redeeming power to be the means of civilization & a permanent subsistence: & therefore while we point them with one hand to the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world, we believe it to be equally our duty to point with the other to the hoe, as the means of saving their famishing bodies from an untimely grave & furnishing the means of subsistence to future generations.

Spalding wrote that! And he believed it with all his heart and soul. Whitman subscribed to the same doctrine but not with the same whole-souled enthusiasm as did Spalding. Spalding and Whitman were convinced that they would have to own their own flour mill, and accordingly wrote for the necessary machinery. The stones, they felt, could be obtained locally. They had at least two good reasons for advocating a mission-owned mill. In the first place, Dr. McLoughlin had emphasized the importance and the necessity of the missionaries' being independent of the Hudson's Bay Company. In the second place, it was very expensive to buy flour at Vancouver or at Fort Colville and freight it to their stations. Whitman wrote to Greene on May 10, 1839, saying that his flour was costing him \$10.00 a hundred. Spalding was convinced that a mission-owned flour mill would pay for itself within two years, and then do much toward putting the mission on a self-supporting basis.

When Spalding wrote his letter of April 21, 1838, which Whitman signed, asking for two hundred and

³⁴ Spalding letter No. 21.

twenty additional workers, Whitman was writing out a bill of supplies. He asked for "several tons of iron and steel, a sufficient quantity of balls, thirty to the pound, or lead with moulds with a due proportion of powder, 2,000 gun flints, fifty gross Indian awls, 100 dozen scalping knives, crockery, tinware, fifty 2½ point blankets, fifty 3-point ditto, two best cook stoves, six box stoves," etc. These articles sound warlike. Such items as scalping knives and awls were used in trading with the Indians for labor or supplies.³⁵

THE SPALDINGS MOVE TO THE CLEARWATER

Both Spalding and Whitman felt the need of better-built houses. In the spring of 1838, when Spalding escorted Lee to Waiilatpu, he persuaded Whitman that the need at Lapwai was more urgent than that at Waiilatpu. Whitman promised to go up and help him build. One of the main reasons why the Spaldings wished to move was the fact that the mosquitoes bothered them so much in the valley where their home was located. Spalding felt that it would be to their advantage to move to the mouth of the Lapwai Creek on the south bank of the Clearwater. Another reason for seeking a new location was the belief that it would be cooler during the hot summers along the river than in the valley. Both Spalding and Whitman found the winters milder than the ones they had experienced in New York State, and the summers warmer.³⁶

Accordingly, Spalding picked out the site which is now known as the Old Mission site. Whitman went up to Lapwai and spent a week in June, assisting Spalding in getting timbers down the Clearwater. No record has been found of any effort being made to carry the logs used in the first home down to the new location. It ap-

³⁵ Coll. A.

³⁶ See Spalding letter No. 37. "My farm & garden now occupies a point of land which Doct Whitman & myself rode on first entering the valley without even stopping to notice it, supposing it a mere bed of sand."

pears that the first home was left at its original site and that it was later used by the Indians.³⁷

The second Spalding house was a two-story building called by Spalding a "block-house," which measured thirty-two by twenty-two. There was a fireplace at each end, the lower parts of which were built out of stone, and the upper parts of "unburnt brick" or adobe. Spalding in a letter to Greene dated September 11, 1838, described his house as being built out of "cedar & pine logs hewed, cedar shingles boards most cedar." The space downstairs was divided into "2 large rooms with fire places, 2 bedrooms & a buttery." Upstairs the Spaldings had "3 small rooms & a store room." The house was without floor or roof in September. Writing to Greene on December 10, 1838, Spalding declared that it was then about completed.³⁸

Spalding was exceedingly busy during the summer of 1838 with building. In addition to his own new dwelling, he erected, with the assistance of the Indians:

. . . a house for the native children we have in our family with two apartments which do not communicate with each other, a house for our hired man, black-smith shop & a school house 40 x 20 which will serve as a place of worship till next season, when God willing, we shall build of unburnt brick a meeting house.³⁹

He also succeeded in collecting enough logs for a saw-mill, a flour mill, and a workshop which he proposed to build that winter.

PROGRESS IN AGRICULTURE

Neither Spalding nor Whitman raised sufficient food supplies during 1837 to supply fully their needs before another harvest could be gathered. Writing to Greene on May 10, 1839, Whitman declared: "Mr. Spalding and myself were unable to eat potatoes before the last year. This first crop was almost an entire failure, and al-

³⁷ No record has yet been found to indicate when this first house was torn down. Today the site is marked by the McCormick home in a grove of poplars on the south side of Thunder Hill.

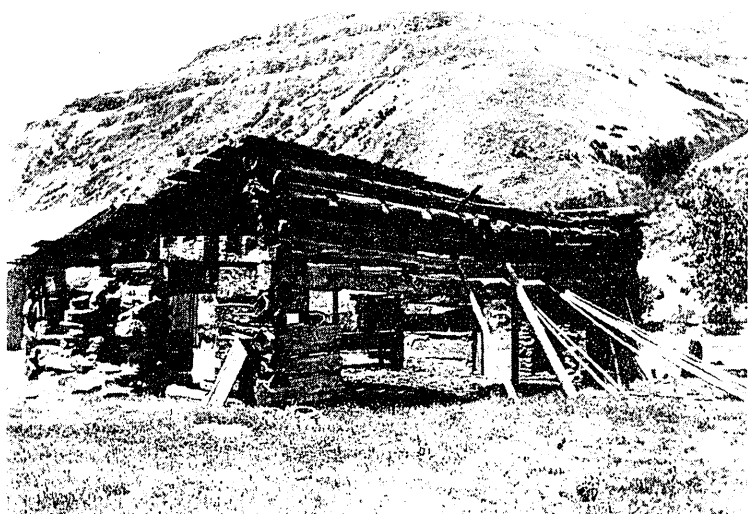
³⁸ Torn down about 1902. Only the piles of stones indicating the location of the fireplaces can now be seen.

³⁹ Spalding letter No. 26.



The Spalding mission house, erected in 1838, as it appeared about 1890. The upper part has been removed. The notches in the top log where the cross beams were laid can be seen. The view is toward the southeast. Today the North and South Highway runs just east of this location.

Picture by kindness of Miss Mary Crawford, Lapwai, Idaho. It is believed that this picture has never been published before.



The Spalding mission house of 1838 as it appeared about 1901. The view is toward the northwest. Both fireplaces can be seen.

Used by permission, Fuller, *The Inland Empire*, Vol. II.

though I had a tolerable crop the demand was so great for seed I could afford but few for eating."

The summer of 1838 was more favorable, and Mother Nature abundantly blessed their efforts. On September 11, Spalding reported to Greene that between seventy and eighty Nez Perce families were cultivating the soil. Some raised as much as one hundred bushels of potatoes with considerable corn, peas, and other grains and vegetables. He sent in to Greene the following list of produce which was his share of what was produced at Lapwai. The list, valued in English money, is as follows:

			£	S	D
Wheat	90 Bushes	4/	18	0	0
Barley	21	4/	4	4	0
Corn	100	5/	25	0	0
Peas	58	5/	14	10	0
Buckwheat	20	4/	4	0	0
Oats	20	3/	3	0	0
Beets, carrots, parsnips					
turnips, Rota Baga	50	3/	7	10	0
Potatoes	800	2/	80	0	0
Hogs	7	10/	3	10	0
Hens	40	1/	2		
Cattle	12	9/	108	0	0
			259	14	0 ⁴⁰

At the rate of \$4.85 to the English pound, this meant that Spalding placed a value of about \$1,300.00 upon his efforts in agriculture and husbandry at the end of 1838. In this list we find the first mention of chickens. It is presumed that he got his first poultry at Fort Vancouver. In September, Spalding estimated his potato crop at eight hundred bushels. Writing to Greene again in December, he said that he had harvested two thousand bushels of potatoes.⁴¹

The list of farm produce and live stock does not include sheep, yet it appears that Spalding and Whitman

⁴⁰ Spalding letter No. 24. Spalding made a mistake in addition. The total was £269.14.0.

⁴¹ Spalding letter No. 27. In that letter he noted: "I have before stated that I have no help to raise my crops except native. A Sandwich Islander has been with me since June helping me to put up my house and gather my crops."

secured sheep from the Hawaiian Islands some time during the summer of 1838.⁴² Spalding wrote to his friend Allen of Kinsman, Ohio, on February 18, 1842, saying that he originally received five females and three males.⁴³ That was the beginning of the great sheep industry of the present state of Idaho. The average production of wool and mutton in Idaho now places it among the first six states of the union in this field.

THE FIRST CHURCH OF OREGON

Both Spalding and Whitman were faithful in their distinctly religious activities. At each station a school was maintained during the winter of 1837-38. The Indians were taught as rapidly as possible to read Scripture texts. Mrs. Spalding was especially good with her pen and brush. The school at Lapwai was always larger than the one at Waiilatpu, which was to be expected, for the Nez Perces were more numerous than the Cayuses.

The Spaldings took several native children into their home, not only for the service they might give, but also for the training they could receive. Two of the eldest girls, called Mary and Martha, were taken ill during the summer of 1838 and both died. Mary died on the 25th of June and Martha on the 3rd of July. Spalding wrote to Greene on July 10: "They both gave pleasing evidence of a change of heart—both were baptized a few days previous to their death." These two girls were the first Nez Perces baptized by any members of the Oregon mission.

Whitman prevailed upon Spalding to visit Waiilatpu in August, 1838, and hold some protracted meetings with the Indians. Since Gray and the reënforcements were expected to arrive about the first part of September, the Spaldings decided to go and remain until this party arrived. Accordingly, the Spaldings left Lapwai on Au-

⁴² Spalding letter No. 65 (April 7, 1846) "We have a flock of sheep belonging to the mission received from the islands eight years ago, there are now about one hundred and fifty."

⁴³ Spalding letter No. 44. *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 70, Whitman to Judge Prentiss, April 8, 1845: "We have above eighty sheep. . . . All these came from one ewe brought from the Sandwich Islands in '38 and two more brought in '39." Perhaps Whitman did not include Spalding's sheep.

gust 8 and arrived at Wailatpu on the 12th. Eliza was then a little more than eight months old. Mrs. Spalding was not well during the summer of 1838, some of the time being confined to her bed.⁴⁴ Spalding was afraid to leave his precious sheep at Lapwai, where the Hawaiian, who had been helping him that summer, was left in charge, so drove his small flock down to Wailatpu with him. He also drove along some milch cows.

The protracted meetings for the Cayuse Indians began on Monday, August 14, and continued through the following Sunday. Perhaps these meetings suggested to Spalding the idea of organizing a church. He had long cherished that idea.

Within three days after Whitman persuaded Spalding to change his destination from the Osage Indians to the Nez Perces, we find Spalding writing back to Greene from Jamestown: "Will it not be advisable to organize our little band into a church at Cincinnati?"⁴⁵ Nothing was done along that line when at Cincinnati. Spalding, however, had not forgotten his proposal.⁴⁶ With the expectation of reënforcements soon to come, Spalding talked the matter over with Whitman, and it was decided that it would be fitting to have a church organization formed into which the reënforcements could be received. There was also the hope that some of the Indians would soon be ready for baptism.

Accordingly, on Saturday, August 18, 1838, the first Protestant church west of the Rocky Mountains was organized. The record book was kept by Spalding and the following is his account of what took place.⁴⁷

RECORDS

Of the First Presbyterian Church in the Oregon Territory organized by missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

⁴⁴ Spalding letter No. 6.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Mrs. Whitman, Sept. 29, 1838, wrote: "He (i. e. Dr. Whitman) wrote to Bro. and Sister S & invited them to come & labour with us, & to organize a church." Coll. W.

⁴⁷ A certified copy of these minutes appeared in the 1903 issue of the Minutes of the Synod of Washington.

At a meeting held at the home of Doct Marcus Whitman, Wailatpu Mission Station, August 18, 1838 the following persons, missionaries of the A B. C. F M & members of the Columbia Mission, were present & resolved to organize themselves into a church, viz. Doct. Marcus Whitman a ruling elder from the Presbyterian Church in Wheeler, Steuben Co. N. Y. . . .

Mrs. Eliza A. Spalding . . .

Mrs. Narcissa Whitman . . .

And Henry Harmon Spalding from the Presbytery of Bath. . . .

Spalding wrote a short biographical note about each of these four, leaving blanks for certain information regarding the exact time when Marcus and Narcissa joined the church, and for their ages. These blanks were never filled in.

After forming the nucleus of a church, they proceeded to receive new members :

The following persons immediately presented letters & were admitted to our number viz

Joseph Maki from the church in Honolulu, Oahu, Rev. Hiram Bingham, Missionary of the A B C. F M, pastor . . .

And Maria Keawe Maki wife of the above . . .

Mr. and Mrs. Maki arrived at Wailatpu in June, 1838, and became valued workers.⁴⁸ Whitman found it very difficult to get much work out of the natives, and Mrs. Whitman wrote of the difficulties she experienced with native girls. The two Hawaiians were able and willing workers and relieved the Whitmans.

After receiving the Hawaiians, the members of the church proceeded to perfect their organization.

H. H. Spalding was elected pastor & Doct Marcus Whitman Ruling Elder. Resolved that this church be governed on the Congregational plan, but attached to Bath Presbytery N. Y. & adopt its form of confession of faith & covenant as ours.

Here is a reference to the plan of union entered into by the Presbyterian and Congregational churches. As an individual church it was to be governed on the Congregational plan, yet it had a Presbyterian pastor, was called a Presbyterian Church, and was attached to Bath

⁴⁸ Joseph Maki died at Wailatpu, August 8, 1840, and was buried there. His wife was sent back to the Islands. *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 135.

Records of the First Presbyterian Church in the
Columbia Territory, organized by Missionaries of the
American Board of Commissioners for
Foreign Missions.

At a meeting held at the house of Good Marcus Whitman
Methodist Mission Station, the following persons were present
and who resolved to organize a church, viz Doct. Hareus
Whitman a ruling elder from the Presbyterian Church in
Wheeler Tenber Co. Wyo. Lewis A. Galtikin pastor, Mrs
Olivia A. Spalding from the Presbyterian Church in Hamilton this
near Cincinnati Ohio, Prof Biggs pastor. Mrs. A. A. Carson
Whitman from the Presbyterian Church in Ogishia. etc.
Legis. Co. Wyo. etc

THE ORIGINAL RECORD OF THE FIRST CHURCH OF OREGON IN SPALDING'S HANDWRITING.

By a comparison of the above account with the certified copy of the minutes of the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon, which appeared in the Minutes of the Synod of Washington, 1903, it is evident that Spalding was not satisfied with the above brief record, so began again in another book. The above record was expanded to include the date, August 18, 1838, and a short biographical note of each of the members. Spalding later took the book in which the above record appears, turned it over, and used it for his Diary.

The minute book of the First Church of Oregon has not been located. It is clear that the above is a picture of the first record that was made of the organization of the church.

Presbytery. The records of that Presbytery, however, do not indicate that any such connection was ever made.⁴⁹

Continuing with the record of Oregon's first church, we come to this item:

On the same day, viz. 18 Aug. Charles Compo, formerly a Catholic, baptized by that church, declaring his disbelief in that faith & expressing a wish to unite with us, was examined and giving satisfactory evidence of being lately born into the kingdom of Christ. was propounded for admission into the Church at some future time. Mr. Pembrem of Fort Walla Walla, a catholic present, advised Compo to consider the matter well before he left his own religion to join another.

Charles Compo was born in Canada, brought up in Indiana, came to mountains in 18. . & to Walla Walla with Rev. Mr. Parker in 1835 where he served two years for the Hudson Bay Co. came to Doct Whitman's last spring.

Mrs. Whitman made several references to Compo in her letters written during the summer and fall of 1838. From these we learn that Compo settled near the Whitmans in the spring of 1838 and began cultivating some land. He assisted Whitman in many ways and Mrs. Whitman called him "an excellent man." In her letter of October 3, she refers to the "good seed" which Mr. Parker sowed in Compo's heart. He was a regular attendant upon the Whitman family worship and his knowledge of the Indian language increased his usefulness.

On Sunday, the 19th, Compo was married to the Nez Perce woman with whom he had been living for several years, Spalding performing the ceremony. Having fulfilled all conditions for church membership, Compo was baptized⁵⁰ and received into the church, "as the first fruit of our missionary labor in this country." Then Compo's eighteen-month-old boy was baptized and given the name

⁴⁹ Miller, *Presbyterianism*, p. 10: "No mention of this church has been found in the records of the presbytery." Spalding was dismissed from Bath Presbytery "to unite with a Presbytery to be constituted in the region where he resides" on April 3, 1838. The Rev. Elmer J. Stuart, D.D., of Corning, New York, furnished information to me from the minutes of the old Bath Presbytery, including the minute regarding Spalding's ordination.—C.M.D.

⁵⁰ Spalding letter No. 24. Spalding asked Greene this question: "Did I do right in baptizing Compo who had before been baptized by a Catholic priest & did I do right in refusing our friend Mr. Pambrun, a Catholic, a place at our table?"

of John. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered in the afternoon, the second time in the experience of the missionaries after their arrival in Oregon.

Thus was the first Presbyterian Church of Oregon founded with seven charter members—four missionaries, two Hawaiians, and one French-Canadian.

IN SUMMARY

On the eve of the arrival of reënforcements, we find the Spaldings and the Whitmans together at Waiilatpu. Two years had passed. No matter how primitive the conditions might be for the reënforcements, never again would any have to go through the same type of hardships which the Spaldings and the Whitmans endured. They were the very first! Houses had been erected; land was under cultivation; the store-bins were filled with the products of the land; the country had been explored; schools had been started; friendly contacts with the Indians had been established; a small church had been formed; and all was ready for a larger work.

In view of the discord within the mission which subsequently developed, it should be noted here that the first two years were characterized by peace and harmony in the mission. We have no record of anything happening to mar the happy fellowship. After being separated nearly a year, the Whitmans went to see the Spaldings, with emotions, as Whitman himself wrote, difficult to describe.

During these two years, all of the major experiences of life had come to their small band. There were birth and death, sickness and sorrow, plenty and want, marriage and baptisms, danger and fear, and also joy and satisfaction. What a tremendous experience was theirs! Alone in a strange land, surrounded by uncivilized Indians who were a law unto themselves, they founded their homes and laid the foundations of a civilization upon which all who followed have builded. They were the pioneers of the pioneers.

CHAPTER NINE

REËNFORCEMENTS ARRIVE

WILLIAM H. GRAY, who joined the Oregon mission as a mechanic and woodworker, aspired to greater things. He was sent out to Oregon for the purpose of relieving the minister and the doctor of the mission of as much manual work as possible, thus giving them more time for the special work for which they had been trained. Gray helped Whitman construct a rude dwelling at Wailatpu, and then spent about four weeks at Lapwai helping Spalding with his house. In spite of the fact that both Whitman and Spalding had far more to do than any one man should attempt, Gray was dreaming of starting a station of his own.

Gray left Lapwai on December 28, 1836, and went to Fort Walla Walla, where he met Frank Ermatinger, a Hudson's Bay trader, about the first of the year. Ermatinger was planning to visit the Flathead country early that spring, and Gray conceived the idea of going along for the ostensible purpose of learning the Flathead language. Both Ermatinger and Gray went to Vancouver, where Gray bought supplies for Whitman, Spalding, and himself.

When Spalding visited Spokane the latter part of March, he found Gray and Ermatinger there. While there, both Spalding and Gray were impressed with the eagerness the Spokanes displayed for Christian missionaries. Writing to Greene, on January 10, 1838, Gray said:

I was permitted in company with Mr. Spalding to meet the Spokanes in their own country. Many of them came to us with tears in their eyes, asking us to come and live in their country, and teach them as we were doing to the Nez Perces and Kayuses ... At this point it was thought best for me to return immediately to obtain more assistants in carrying out our labors.¹

¹ Coll. A.

It was therefore agreed that Gray was to return to the States. It was there, also, that Gray proposed taking some Indians with him and some native horses which would be exchanged for cattle. Spalding was in favor of the plan and induced the Nez Perces to coöperate. Whitman was opposed. Altogether Gray secured fourteen horses² and four Indian companions, some of whom were Nez Perces. He and his companions left Spokane, with Ermatinger, on April 5, going through the Coeur d'Alene country over the Bitterroot Mountains into the Flathead country. Gray reached Fort Hall on June 19 and arrived at the rendezvous about the last of the month, several weeks before the caravan from St. Louis was due to arrive.

It was Gray's original plan to return under the escort of the caravan, but, becoming impatient at the delay, decided to cross the prairies with only the few who were with him. Wise old Captain Bridger, who knew the nature of the prairie Indians far better than Gray, strongly advised against it. He warned Gray that if he ventured to cross without the protection of the caravan, the Indians would certainly attack him and steal his horses and perhaps kill all in the party.³

Gray, however, was stubborn and decided to proceed. Later he wrote to Greene, saying that he obtained "the advice of the most experienced travelers in the Mountains," and that, accordingly, he started from the rendezvous on the 25th of July.⁴ If he had waited but ten days he could have gone back with the caravan. Gray's tendency to act independently, and "on his own hook" here again asserted itself.⁵ What Bridger predicted actually took place at Ash Hollow (Nebraska). There on August 7, the Sioux Indians attacked, killed the four Indians who were with Gray, stole the horses, and Gray

² Gray to Greene, Sept. 15, 1837, Coll. A. Mowry, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 83, states that Gray had between 20 and 30 horses.

³ A. B. Smith to Greene, July 19, 1838. Coll. A.

⁴ In 1853 Gray drove out a band of 400 sheep to Oregon, losing about 40 *en route*. At Astoria he loaded all of his sheep on one barge, contrary to the advice of friends, and started for Portland. The barge sank and all of the sheep were drowned.

⁵ See Mowry, *Marcus Whitman*, pp. 237 ff.

barely escaped with his life. Gray wrote to Greene from St. Louis on September 15, 1837, giving an account of the affair.⁶

The American Board was not pleased over Gray's return. Gray, however, assured them that he would be under no expense to the Board during the time he was at home and that he would improve himself by the study of medicine. He, accordingly, enrolled in the same medical school that Whitman had attended, which was at Fairfield, New York, which happened also to be the town in which he was born.⁷ The fall term began in November. Gray did not attend the full term, which ended in March.

In February, 1838, Gray visited Samuel Parker at Ithaca and met Mary Augusta Dix⁸ on February 19. After a whirlwind courtship, the two were married in the Dutch Reformed Church of Ithaca⁹ on Sunday evening, February 25. They left the next day for Oregon.

Mrs. Gray was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John Dix of Ithaca, and was born March 2, 1810. Her pastor, Rev. John C. F. Hoes, sent a good letter of recommendation to the American Board regarding her, from which the following extract is taken:

A word in reference to their engagement and marriage. Many of our pious people think they were very premature. Tis true their acquaintance had been short—of but two or three weeks continuance—but Mr. Gray came well recommended to the Rev. Samuel Parker, thro' whom he became acquainted with Miss Dix.¹⁰

Thus Mr. Parker had the honor of introducing not only the Whitmans but also the Grays to each other. Mr. and Mrs. Gray, being assured by the American Board that reinforcements would follow, went on to Independ-

⁶ Gray put in a claim to the Government for \$2,096.45 in "behalf of the Flathead and Nez Perce Mission." See his letter to the Board of Oct. 17, 1837. There is no record that this was ever paid.

⁷ He enrolled as W. Henry Gray from Columbia, Oregon.

⁸ See *T.O.P.A.*, 1897, pp. 89 ff. for an account of her life.

⁹ Mowry, *op. cit.*, p. 88, claims they were married in the Presbyterian Church.

¹⁰ Coll. A. Mowry, *op. cit.*, p. 86, speaks of a previous engagement Gray had entered into. He gives no proof.

ence, Missouri, where they waited impatiently for them to arrive.

THE PERSONNEL OF THE REËNFORCEMENT

The American Board appointed three newly married couples to accompany Mr. and Mrs. Gray back to Oregon. They were the Rev. and Mrs. Elkanah Walker, the Rev. and Mrs. Cushing Eells, and the Rev. and Mrs. A. B. Smith. Gray's description of the men is as follows:

Rev. E. Walker was a tall, rather spare, stoop-shouldered, black-haired, brown-eyed, rather light-complexioned man, diffident and unassuming, always afraid to say *amen* at the end of his prayers, and requiring considerable effort to speak with confidence or decision upon any subject. . . . He had no positive traits of mind, yet he was studious, and kind as a friend and neighbor . . . Not at all adapted to fill the position he undertook,—as an Indian missionary in Oregon.

Rev. C. Eells, a short, slim brown-haired, light-brown eyed, fair-complexioned man, with a super-abundance of self-esteem, great pretensions to precision and accurateness of statement and strictness of conduct . . . He had no poetry or romance in his soul, yet by dint of perseverance he was a good artificial singer. He lacked all the qualities requisite for a successful Indian missionary and a preacher of the gospel in a new country.

Rev. A. B. Smith, a man whose prejudices were so strong that he could not be reasonable with himself. He attempted to make himself useful as a missionary, but failed for want of Christian forbearance and confidence in his associates. As to literary ability, he was superior to his associates, and probably excited their jealousy.¹¹

Mr. and Mrs. Walker came from Maine. Mr. and Mrs. Eells were natives of Massachusetts, while Mr. Smith came from Vermont and Mrs. Smith from Massachusetts. All were members of the Congregational Church. The Walkers and the Eells had been assigned to go to southern Africa to work among the Zulus, but circumstances prevented their going there. Upon learning of the need and opportunity in Oregon, they willingly expressed their readiness to go out with Gray. These two couples were married the same day, March 5, but at different places.¹² A special farewell service was held for them in the Brick

¹¹ Gray, *Oregon*, pp. 178-179.

¹² *T.O.P.A.*, 1897, p. 131.

Church, New York, on Sunday, March 18, 1838.¹³ The next day Mr. and Mrs. Smith joined the party. Smith was the best educated man of the three, having studied medicine as well as theology.¹⁴ He and his wife were married March 15, so with the Grays, the party was composed of four newly wed couples.¹⁵

THE JOURNEY TO OREGON

En route to Independence, Missouri, the three couples stopped at Cincinnati, where Cornelius Rogers, a young unmarried man in this twenty-third year, joined them as an independent missionary. He was later appointed a member of the Oregon mission by the Board. At Cincinnati they met Dr. Lyman Beecher. The question of the propriety of Christians' traveling on the Sabbath came up, and someone asked Dr. Beecher what he would do if the caravan insisted on traveling on Sunday when crossing the plains. In reply Dr. Beecher said that if he were on a ship crossing the ocean, he would not jump overboard on Saturday night. Cornelius Rogers was a member of Dr. Beecher's church.

The three couples and Rogers reached Independence on April 15, and the caravan started on the 22nd. The mission party took with them eight head of cattle and twenty-two horses and mules. They took a wagon with them as far as Fort Laramie, where they repacked their baggage on the animals.

The trip was a difficult one. It rained, and the reinforcements at times found Gray domineering and unreasonable. Writing from the rendezvous on July 10, Smith informed Greene as follows:

We have not found Mr. Gray such a man as we hoped to find—I presume you are already aware & I should judge so from the letter he recd from you at Independence, that he is not judicious

¹³ *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 34, p. 237. Indicative of the vague ideas then held regarding the West, reference was made on that occasion to mountains "25,000 feet high" which the missionaries were supposed to see.

¹⁴ Attended Berkshire Medical Institution, 1833-34, and Yale Medical Institution, 1836-37.

¹⁵ Mowry, *op. cit.*, p. 10, speaks of the "Triple Bridal Tour." It was really a quadruple affair.

in all his movements. He is rash & inconsiderate & not at all calculated properly to fill the station he now does—He has assumed a great deal of authority over us, & talked to us in a very harsh & unbecoming, & I may say abusive manner, regardless of the feelings of others, even of the ladies. . . . These things have been a severe trial to us.¹⁶

Smith, however, was a chronic fault-finder. He did not like the conditions incidental to traveling across the plains. He was not happy in his associations with the others, and at the rendezvous he constructed a separate lodge for himself and his wife. Mrs. Walker on June 24 wrote in her Journal:¹⁷

Mr. S. has gone to living by himself. Queary:—Does the course he is pursuing cost him some misgiving. It will be pleasant not to hear so much fault-finding.

Smith complained about the necessity of working so hard, and when he thought of other missionaries' having an easy passage by boat to their fields of labor, he gave expression to his feelings in a letter to Greene as follows:

I have not indeed worked my passage on board a vessel to a foreign port, but I can say in truth I worked my passage across the Rocky Mountains. The labor which I performed on the journey was full equal to that of a man in our employment who rec'd \$25 pr month.¹⁸

Smith also wrote to the Board, advising them never again to send women across the mountains.

Respecting the sending of missionaries across the continent, permit me to say that I hope it will never again be done. The more I think of our journey the more satisfied I am that it is improper for missionaries, especially females, thus to travel.¹⁹

¹⁶ Coll. A.

¹⁷ Mrs. Walker kept a Journal June 10, '38-Dec. 26, '38; Sept. 7, '48-Oct. 26, '48; May 16, '51-Mar., '52, most of which was printed in *Frontier*, March, 1931. Original Mss. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Mr. Walker kept a diary for Sept. 10, '38-Oct. 4, '38; Jan. 5, '41-Nov. 15, '42. Original at Huntington and Oregon Historical Society. Eells kept a diary which was burned in 1871 without being published. Mrs. Eells' Journal for Mar. 5, '38-Sept. 2, '38 was published in *T.O.P.A.*, 1889.

¹⁸ Smith to Greene, April 29, 1839. Coll. A.

¹⁹ Smith to Greene, May 10, 1839. Coll. A.



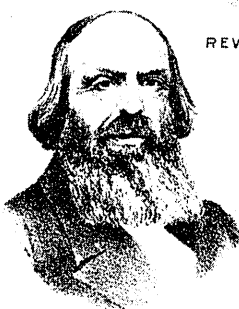
REV. J. S. GRIFFIN.



REV. C. EELLS, D. D.



REV. SAMUEL PARKER.



REV. H. H. SPALDING



REV. E. WALKER

PIONEER CONGREGATIONAL MISSIONARIES.

PIONEER CONGREGATIONAL MISSIONARIES.
From picture owned by Whitman College.

It is interesting to note that the Methodist Board never did send any women workers that way.

Mrs. Walker in the entry in her Journal for June 11 tells of the trials and discouragements they suffered the day they crossed the Platte. It was raining and the water came into the tent. To make matters still worse, she was sick. "In the forenoon," she wrote, "I cried to think how comfortable father's hogs were."

The caravan of 1838 made better time than did the one of 1836. They reached the rendezvous on the 21st of June, and the missionaries left on July 10 for Fort Hall in company with Ermatinger. At the rendezvous they met Jason Lee and P. L. Edwards, of the Methodist mission, who were on their way east for reinforcements. The missionaries reached Fort Hall on July 27, and on the 29th of August arrived at Wailatpu, where they were warmly welcomed by the Spaldings and the Whitmans. Mr. and Mrs. Gray had ridden ahead of the main party, arriving at Wailatpu on the 21st, and had then gone on to Fort Walla Walla.

Smith estimated that it cost the Board about \$2,500.00 to send out the reinforcements, of which sum he assumed nearly \$500.00 to be his share of the expenses.²⁰

THE MISSION IS REORGANIZED

On Saturday, September 1, the six men members of the mission, including Messrs. Spalding, Whitman, Gray, Smith, Walker, and Eells, held a business meeting. Spalding was elected Moderator, and Walker was made Secretary. The original minutes of the meeting, made by Walker with a lead pencil on a piece of letter paper, were recently discovered.²¹ This was one of the most important meetings ever held by the members of what they called the Columbia Mission, because some important policies were determined.

²⁰ Smith to Greene, April 29, 1839, Coll. A. See also Spalding letter No. 24, where Spalding estimated the cost of bringing out the reinforcements at \$3,000.00.

²¹ I secured this and other source material from Mr. S. T. Walker, the only living descendant of any of the Whitman band, on Sept. 9, 1935. This collection is now at Washington State College, Pullman, Wash.—C.M.D.

The following is the first action taken:

Resolved that instruction be given in the native language so far as the immediate benefit of the native tribe may demand but for the permanent benefit of the peoples we will introduce the English language as fast as expedient.

The mission voted to accept the offer of the Sandwich Islands mission to send a press and a printer to the Oregon mission. This offer came as a result of Spalding's request, made in the spring of 1838, for a second-hand press. Spalding, realizing the need for textbooks for the school, had sent material for a seventy-two page book to the Islands to be printed. Only one or two pages were put into type. The Sandwich Islands mission then offered to send a small press to Oregon. It was voted that "the press printer type paper & binding apparatus offered by the S. I. Mission be accepted."²² On October 15, 1838, Walker wrote to the Sandwich Islands mission, accepting their offer.

Another major question which was decided at that meeting was the assigning of the new members to their fields of labor. The cordial reception the Spokanes had given to Gray and Spalding in the spring of 1837 led to the decision that Walker and Eells were to start a new station in the vicinity of Spokane Falls. Smith was to remain with Whitman, and Rogers was to go to Lapwai and assist in the school. Then the question arose: where were the Grays to go? Spalding described the problem in a letter to Greene as follows:

At the first meeting after Mr. Gray and his party arrived, the three clergymen who accompanied him said respectively and decidedly they would not be associated with Mr. Gray.²³

Whitman showed no eagerness to have him, so finally Spalding consented to have the Grays live at Lapwai.

Spalding and Whitman explained the necessity for a mission-owned flour mill, and it was voted that Dr. Whitman visit Vancouver to get the needed equipment, together with some additional supplies. Whitman left

²² *O.H.Q.*, Vol. 23, March and June numbers, gives the history of the mission press. Well illustrated.

²³ Spalding letter No. 45.

on September 17 and returned on October 15. It was voted that the flour mill be located at Lapwai, and also that a blacksmith shop be erected there.

The last action taken at the business meeting on Saturday was to receive Rogers into the mission. He was granted a compensation of twenty-five pounds per annum.

On Sunday, September 2, the mission band of thirteen, together with a few others who understood English, met in worship. The little church of seven members welcomed the eight new arrivals into its membership. Mr. Walker preached from the text: "Herein is my Father glorified." Mr. Spalding and Mr. Smith officiated at the communion service, each making a short talk, after which Spalding spoke to the Indians and explained what had taken place.²⁴ The mission group formed a temperance society.

A MATERNAL ASSOCIATION FORMED

The men of the mission were not the only ones engaged in organizing themselves for effective work, for on Monday, September 3, the women banded themselves together into a Maternal Association. Such organizations were common in the East of that day, although today we would probably call them Mothers' Clubs, or Parent-Teachers' Associations. Mrs. Spalding was elected president; Mrs. Whitman, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Gray, recording secretary; Mrs. Walker, vice president; leaving Mrs. Eells and Mrs. Smith as plain members.

Other members were added to this group at later dates, including the wives of the Hudson's Bay factors at Colville and Walla Walla. The second article of their constitution read as follows:

The members of this Association shall meet at their respective stations, on Wednesday, the second and last weeks in each month, for the purpose of conversation and prayer.²⁵

The women kept the Maternal Association alive all through the history of the Oregon mission. On April 16,

²⁴ See Mrs. Walker's Diary, *Frontier*, March, 1931, p. 292.

²⁵ *Mothers' Magazine*, Vol. 14, No. 9.

1846, Mrs. Whitman wrote a letter to the editor of the *Mother's Magazine* in which she gave a brief review of the history of the association in Oregon. The letter appeared in the September issue of the magazine with the following editorial note:

The writer, Mrs. D. Whitman, besides all the family cares on her hands, has been one of the most efficient of agents in promoting the circulation of the *Mother's Magazine*, as evidence of which we may mention that this letter enclosed eighteen dollars for subscriptions in Oregon.²⁶

On December 7, 1838, Mrs. Walker gave birth to a son whom they called Cyrus. While not the first white boy born on the Pacific coast, he did have the honor of being the first to live to maturity. On December 22, 1838, Mrs. Spalding wrote to Mrs. Walker, inviting her to take part in the custom that she and Mrs. Whitman were following of having daily prayers for their children at a fixed hour in the morning. Mrs. Spalding wrote: "I hope you will feel it your privilege to unite with us in this blessed exercise."²⁷

DEVELOPMENTS AT THE STATIONS

On Tuesday, September 4, Mr. and Mrs. Spalding, their daughter Eliza, Mr. and Mrs. Gray, Charles Compo, a number of Nez Perces, together with the sheep, cattle, and horses belonging to members of the party, started for Lapwai. James Conner, a mountain man who had accompanied the Gray party from the rendezvous to Waiilatpu, was hired by Spalding, and went along. There was much to be done at Lapwai. A building to house the flour mill had to be built, and a mill race dug. Another building was necessary for the blacksmith shop. Spalding still dreamed of a "meeting house" large enough to hold three or four hundred. More dwellings had to be erected. With the help of Gray, Compo, and

²⁶ *Loc. cit.*

²⁷ Spalding letter No. 27. The first white boy born west of the Rockies was Jason Lee White, son of Dr. and Mrs. Elijah White, of the Willamette mission, born July 10, 1837, drowned, Aug. 23, 1838.

Conner, Spalding looked forward to getting much done that fall. He was eager to return.

They arrived at Lapwai on Friday evening, and there Spalding found a Pend d'Oreille chief, waiting to see if any missionaries had arrived for his people. A few days later a chief of the Coeur d'Alenes came. "But when he saw but one with me," wrote Spalding to Greene, "he said his heart broke & he left the next day, greatly disappointed." There was undoubtedly a desire on the part of the members of these tribes for missionaries, but it should also be remembered that the desire was born of mixed motives. The tribes without missionaries became jealous of the tribes who were so favored.

Spalding was somewhat worried over the possible reaction of the Nez Perces to the news of the death of those from their tribe who accompanied Gray east in 1837. "It is said," he wrote to Greene, "they will demand my head or all my property."²⁸ Spalding was also fearful that the mountain men, unsympathetic to missionaries, might cause trouble by influencing the Indians to make exorbitant demands. Fortunately, his fears did not materialize. He was, however, obliged to give cows to the Indians who lost horses.²⁹

Rogers remained at Waiilatpu until the 20th of September and then started for Lapwai. Walker and Eells left for Spokane on the 10th of the month to explore a possible mission site. The Spokanes were delighted, and showed their joy in every way within their power. The missionaries selected a site on the north side of the Spokane River, about twenty-five miles northwest of the present city of Spokane, which was called Tshimakain, or Chimakain, that is, the "place of springs," near the present village of Ford, Washington.

Being satisfied with the outlook, they started for Lapwai. Their trail led them almost directly south. They

²⁸ Spalding letter No. 24.

²⁹ Spalding letter No. 39 (to Greene): "Have you received of Doct D Allen, Kinsman, Ohio, some \$80.00 to be paid out by me in cattle for a few of my people who lost horses at the time Gray was robbed by the Siouxs. I have already disposed of a few young cattle on this score."

crossed the Palouse River, and then the ridge known today as the Thatuna Ridge, just north of the present city of Moscow, Idaho. On Friday, October 5, they spent the night somewhere between the present sites of Moscow and Genesee, Idaho, and the next day reached Lapwai. Walker in his Diary makes special mention of the high bluffs found on the north side of the Clearwater.

The men arrived as Spalding was digging his potatoes. Walker wrote in his Diary under October 8:

Nothing special occurred today. I went up to his old house after some vegetables, or rather to order the Indians to bring some . . . Mr. S. has a fine lot of potatoes; and I think he will have at least 1500 bushels, 500 to the acre. I never saw any that turned out so well.³⁰

This was the beginning of the potato industry of the present state of Idaho, which has helped to make the state famous.

Walker and Eells did not tarry long at Lapwai, but continued their journey to Waiilatpu, where they arrived on the 13th. It was decided that the season was too late to permit anyone to live at Tshimakain that winter, so the three couples proceeded to make themselves comfortable at Waiilatpu. Whitman superintended the erection of an adobe house nineteen by forty feet, with a wing extending to the east twenty-two by thirty. The axis of the main building ran north and south, and the wing joined it at the center, forming a T.³¹

Although the mission stations at Lapwai and Waiilatpu had made great progress toward the goal of becoming self-supporting stations, still, with new equipment to be purchased and extra mouths to feed, that ideal had not been realized by the fall of 1838. The financial depression which visited the States in 1837 made itself felt in far-off Oregon the next year.

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

The American Board had experienced a rapid growth. In 1811, it reported less than a thousand dollars in re-

³⁰ Walker, Diary, Oct. 8, 1838.

³¹ Whitman to Greene, May 10, 1839.

ceipts. In 1831, just twenty years later, about \$101,000.00 was received. In 1836, the year the Spaldings and the Whitmans went out, the Board received \$176,232.15, but spent \$210,407.54. The accumulated deficit then amounted to \$38,866.57. The next year the deficit was increased by more than \$2,500.00, even though the receipts jumped to \$252,076.55.³² In 1837, the Board had 360 missionaries under appointment.

During the summer of 1837, the members of the Board, sensing the difficulties they would face in raising money, decided to cut appropriations and to make every effort to pay off the deficit. The budget had to be balanced. A circular dated "Missionary Rooms, Boston, June 23, 1837" was printed and sent to all the missionaries under the Board. The circular carried a brief review of the financial situation and indicated the amount each mission station would have to deduct from its usual appropriation.

One of these circulars, addressed to "Rev. H. H. Spalding & Associates," was found in the Whitman collection. According to this circular the whole Oregon mission was limited to an expenditure of but \$1,000.00 a year. The circular carried two postscripts, one by Greene and the other by H. Hill, the treasurer. These were dated July 6. Greene wrote in part:

From the foregoing circular you will learn the embarrassments of our treasury, and the consequent reduction of the allowances to the several missions under the care of the Board, and that no more than one thousand dollars annually can be granted to your mission until you hear further from the Committee. You may think this a very small sum, quite disproportionate to the extent and claims of your field. . . .

You must permit me here to say that the expenses of your mission hitherto have much exceeded our anticipations; and we cannot but fear that you have not in all cases (remembered) with what difficulty money is obtained by the Board . . .

If the Indians of this continent are *all* of them ever to receive the (gospel, it) must be by small economical missions. . . . More of the Brainard & Elliot mode of labor . . .

I write also a remark of Mr. Parker, which he made on being informed of the expenses of your outfit and journey, without expressing my opinion respecting its correctness: He remarked that

³² *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 36, p. 38.

he would pledge himself to outfit a mission of equal numbers, take them across the country, and sustain them in their work three years for the same amount, i. e. about \$7,000. We were greatly surprised at your draft of £371 received by Mr. Hill yesterday. It is quite impossible for us to go on meeting such drafts in present circumstances.

We cannot send you the materials for mills, nor can we send you collections of books without knowing precisely what books, & how many of each you want.³³

On the same day, Hill wrote a postscript, in which he stated that the draft for £371 amounted, at the existing rate of exchange, to more than \$2,000.00. Hill did not then know that a second draft, drawn on the treasury for £102, was on its way, and also a letter from Spalding and Whitman, begging for two hundred and twenty workers and supplies in proportion. Regarding the exchange rate, Hill wrote: "Every £100 costs us now about \$540." Hill also gave some practical directions regarding the method of drawing on the treasury.

It was not clear just when Spalding and Whitman received this circular. When Gray arrived at Wailatpu, he delivered a letter to Spalding and Whitman which Greene had written on January 7, 1838, in which Greene suggested that perhaps the two were spending too much of their time in such secular activities as farming. He intimated that they might find their means of subsistence elsewhere. The suggestion is reminiscent of Parker's criticism, and perhaps also of Gray's attitude. Both Spalding and Whitman replied, vigorously defending their course of action as being not only wise, but also as being the only possible course they could have followed.

SPALDING'S REPLY

Whitman did not reply until May 10, 1839, but Spalding could hardly wait until he got back to Lapwai before sending in his defense. His letter was dated September 10, 1838. Spalding maintained that it was absolutely necessary for the missionaries to spend some time farming. Where else could they obtain supplies? The Meth-

³³ The circular has been torn and parts are missing. The words in parentheses have been supplied.

odists had none to spare. Dr. McLoughlin of the Hudson's Bay Company had let the missionaries clearly understand that they were to become independent of the Company. Spalding wrote:

I hope that none of us will bring ourselves to think that because we are missionaries we are therefore not to be regulated by the rules that regulate gentlemen in their intercourse with each other, but grasp all the favors we can & ask for more . . . consequently your missions cannot depend on the H H B Co for supplies and provisions.

He maintained, further, that the activity in farming by the missionaries had a good influence on the natives. "Unless they are immediately provided with the means of, & taught to cultivate their lands," he wrote, "the tribes to all appearances must sooner or later become extinct & your missionaries left without any one to preach to." Spalding also argued that the sooner the natives could be settled, the easier it would be to evangelize them. At a later date he wrote along the same line: "No savage [people] to my knowledge, has ever become christianized upon the wing."³⁴

Spalding reminded Greene that due to the fact that he and Whitman had sufficient food supplies on hand, it would not then be necessary to draw "on your treasury for several thousand dollars for their first years support, as in our case." Spalding regretted that the Board had not sent out a farmer. The Oregon mission needed men willing to work with their hands, farming, building, and doing a thousand other things needed around a mission station, and instead the Board had sent out three more preachers!

Spalding could not forget some things mentioned in the circular. Parker's remark roiled him. Two months later, or on November 26, he again wrote to Greene:

Mr. Parker says he can take a party of seven persons over the Mts. & sustain two families with a mechanic in this field for ten years for \$7000. . . .³⁵

³⁴ Spalding letter No. 32.

³⁵ Spalding misread Parker's statement. Parker said three years, not ten.

In reading the above a question very naturally proposes itself, who & what No of immortal souls should be benefitted during the ten years & what should be the expense of the next ten years the amount of good accomplished. We propose to make this, as has been stated in former letters, a self supporting Mission in less than ten years.

We have therefore been at much greater expense at the outset of our Mission in furnishing it with cattle, hogs, sheep, buildings, farming utensils, &c &c than we should have incurred had we made only our own station here for ten years the first object in all our thoughts & movements.

Spalding and Whitman were right. They had to become independent or else give up and go home. The Indians had to be settled and taught the arts of civilization if their nation was to be preserved, for the wild game was disappearing.

Greene's reference to Brainard and Elliot, the pioneer missionaries to the Indians of the Atlantic coast, also rubbed Spalding the wrong way. Spalding challenged Greene's implications:

Did they take their wives hundreds of miles into the wilderness & then go off for supplies of provisions 100 or 200 miles & leave them perhaps with young babes for weeks alone among the savages, I have done this. . . .

Did they eat horse beef, so do we.

I have awoke at night while lying out, & found my body half emersed in water, & no shelter to secure me from the descending rain.

Often before our house was erected, did Mrs. Spalding & myself throw snow from our blankets on waking in the morning, & not infrequently while preaching or praying with the people, has the snow fallen thick upon my bare head.³⁶

Spalding did not appreciate Parker's remarks and made some revealing statements about the impression Parker had made upon the Hudson's Bay people. Whitman, however, was the one who wrote the most uncomplimentary things about Parker.³⁷

³⁶ Spalding letter No. 25.

³⁷ *McLoughlin Ms.*, Bancroft Library, Univ. of Cal., p. 6. "The Revd Mr. Parker . . . is very unpopular with the other Protestant missionaries in this country for which I see no cause . . ."

WHITMAN'S REPLY

Whitman waited nearly nine months before he sent in his defense, and then wrote a letter of about three thousand words. This was unusual for Whitman, for most of his letters to the Board are short, while Spalding wrote voluminously, sometimes a single letter numbering over seven thousand words. Whitman said that he felt it necessary to correct the "incorrect representations concerning the facilities for obtaining supplies, etc., in this country." Regarding Parker's statement, he defended himself by describing Parker's methods. He gave many instances of how Parker had imposed himself upon others, mentioning among other things the treatment Compo received.

If Mr. Parker was to contract and take a party across the mountains and sustain them in this field, I think no one would be found satisfied with the arrangements he would make.

In conversation yesterday with Mr. Ermatinger who spent the night with us, in company with two other gentlemen, he said that upon arriving at Vancouver the winter Mr. Parker was there the gentlemen were admiring his fine gun and told him Mr. Parker would beg it of him. He told them to avoid the necessity of refusing him he should not see it. He added "It was the expectation of all the gentlemen that Mr. Parker would beg everything that pleased his fancy or suited his convenience.

Parker had boasted that he was always able to find suitable food and that he had never been reduced to the extremity of eating dog or horse. Whitman wrote in regard to that: "And I must say, to conclude, Providence has not enabled any of us who have followed Mr. Parker to equal his triumph," and added, "We have killed and eaten twenty-three or four horses since we have been here."⁸⁸

THE BUDGET INTERPRETED

The missionaries disagreed on the interpretation of the order from the Board regarding the limitation of their budget to one thousand dollars. Spalding felt that the order was meant to apply to everyone, reënforce-

⁸⁸ Whitman to Greene, May 10, 1839. Coll. A.

ments included, but he stood alone in that interpretation. The others felt that the order referred only to Spalding and Whitman, and on that basis, each couple was allowed five hundred dollars a year. It was accordingly voted that each family was to be limited to that amount.

On March 5, 1839, Spalding wrote to Greene:

Whenever you wish it to be less, let me know it, & I will comply with your wish or the wish of the christian church, even if it be but \$5.00 a year instead of \$500.00. But you must not look for great results from such limited means.

Spalding pointed out the fact that after the exchange had been discounted, the five hundred dollars did not amount to much more than three hundred dollars on the field. In addition, the high freight rates greatly increased the cost of all supplies. He wrote:

Take salt as an example, we pay five shillings sterling a bushel at Vancouver, & ten shillings for transporting it to this place . . . how much is a minister at home with a salary of \$300 expected to do towards erecting his dwelling house, his church, the school house furnishing not only himself with farm utensils, but his neighbors, furnishing materials & making books, teaching the school besides giving the people a written language, laws & religion. Let me here repeat what I have before said I fully believe that ten years growth will constitute this a self supporting Mission, Providence continuing to favor.³⁹

IN REVIEW

On November 26, 1838, when Spalding was thirty-five years old, he began a diary which he kept with fair regularity for three and a half years.⁴⁰ He began with a short review of his life, and on November 29, the second anniversary of his arrival at Lapwai, he reviewed the events of the preceding year. A church had been formed, and a temperance society. The Mission, that is, he and Whitman, had been limited to one thousand dollars a year. Reënforcements had arrived; Mr. and Mrs. Gray and Rogers had moved to Lapwai; two Indians whom he had baptized had died; and he had made two trips to

³⁹ Spalding letter No. 29.

⁴⁰ The original, containing about 30,000 words, is at Whitman College. Only a small part has ever been published.

Walla Walla, one in May and another in August. Jason Lee had visited him. He had moved to his new home on the banks of the Clearwater. No wonder Spalding wrote: "The last year has been one of considerable interest to the Missions in general and not a little to this station."

He closed the entry for November 29 with these words:

Lord grant in great mercy that if he sees fit to spare my life another year in this field, it may be marked with more faithfulness to His Holy cause. Oh may we see souls flocking to Jesus as doves to their windows.

CHAPTER TEN

THE THIRD YEAR AT LAPWAI

ON November 26, 1838, H. H. Spalding began a diary which he kept with more or less regularity until April 22, 1842. On February 21, 1843, he began writing in it again and continued until March 7 of that year. With the exception of some thirty quotations from this diary which appeared in Marshall's *Acquisition of Oregon*, and occasional references to some of the information it contains in some of the writings of Myron Eells, the son of Cushing Eells, the valuable material which it contains has never been published. The diary throws a flood of light upon the developments within the mission leading up to Whitman's famous ride east in the fall and winter of 1842-43.

We can supplement Spalding's Diary with the diaries which Mr. and Mrs. Walker kept, covering part of the same period, with the correspondence sent by the missionaries to the Board or to relatives and friends, with mission records, and with the observations of others who visited the mission during this period. Through such combined evidence, we can reconstruct with some accuracy the story of the third year which the Spaldings spent at Lapwai.

During this year the foundations were laid for much of the discord that developed within the mission during 1840. The missionaries were all men and women of deep convictions, else they would not have been in Old Oregon at that early day. Some of them were pronounced individualists. Life in the mission stations was circumscribed and hard. The missionaries lacked many of the material comforts, even of that period. The extreme pioneer conditions under which they had to live tested not only their Christianity but their ability to endure hardships as well. And some failed to meet the test. The missionaries were not saints already crowned with halos; they were human beings like the rest of us.

FRICTION WITHIN

Walker, Eells, Smith, and their wives spent the winter of 1838-39 at Wailatpu mission, studying the native language. The accommodations provided at that station were much too limited to make all comfortable. The following extracts from Mrs. Walker's Diary tell of the irritations which inevitably arose:

Friday, Sept. 21. Sewed in the A. M. washed in the P. M. Hope when I get to our Station, I shall make a manage to do my washing in the morning, and a few other things I will try to have different from what I find them here.

Friday, November 30. Dr. W. quite out of patience with Mr. Smith. Mrs. W washing; think she has less help from the other ladies than she ought.

Monday, 3 [Dec.] Monthly concert [i. e. prayer meeting] in the evening, after which Dr. his wife, Mr. E & wife, husband and self sit up till midnight talking about Mr. S &c. Mrs. W got to feeling very bad, goes to bed crying.

Tuesday 4 . . . Mrs. W in a sad mood all day, did not present herself at the breakfast table, went out doors down by the river to cry.¹

Mrs. Whitman wrote to her sister Jane on May 17, 1839, and gave her side of the picture. It seems that Walker and Eells were opposed to having women pray in the mission meetings, and they "plead the necessity for wine, tobacco, etc." Mrs. Whitman asked: "How do you think I have lived with such folks right in my kitchen for the whole winter?"

For the most part the Walkers and the Eells were good-natured and agreeable. They lived at Tshimakain for about eight years without having any serious difficulties among themselves, and constantly exercised a peaceful influence in the mission. The main trouble-makers were A. B. Smith and W. H. Gray.

When the reënforcements arrived in the late summer of 1838, they brought out letters and reading matter for the workers on the field. Among other things, they brought the recent issues of the *Missionary Herald*. Therein Whitman read the list of missionaries assigned to the Oregon mission and after Gray's name the follow-

¹ Mrs. Walker, Diary, *Frontier*, March, 1931, pp. 284 ff.

ing title: "Physician and Mechanic." Whitman was irritated. He wrote to Greene on October 22, 1839, saying:

I cannot conceive how you have been imposed upon to report him a physician. What can a man learn in sixteen weeks of public lectures (which is barely all he can boast), to entitle him to that distinction? It cannot be regarded in any other light in this country than a slur upon the Board and the Mission.²

Gray had originally been given the classification of "Mechanic," and after Whitman's protest was listed as "Mechanic and Teacher." These were some of the small beginnings that later rent the mission asunder. A good way to trace out the development of affairs in the Oregon mission is to go through Spalding's Diary month by month and study the course of events as they unfolded themselves to him.

DECEMBER, 1838

For nearly two years the Spaldings had lived alone at Lapwai, but with the coming of the reënforcement, conditions suddenly changed and their life became more complex. The white population of Lapwai increased from two to nine, including the following: Mr. and Mrs. Spalding, Mr. and Mrs. Gray, Cornelius Rogers, Charles Compo, James Conner, and two more of the mountain men who went to Lapwai, Richard Williams and Ebberts. Compo did not stay long but returned to Waiilatpu. Williams with Conner entered Spalding's employ for a time, but in December Williams broke his engagement and went to live with Ebberts. These two lived in a house they built for themselves near the mission station. Spalding was happy to have the men and during the fall of 1838 worked hard with them in the erection of additional dwellings, the blacksmith shop, and a schoolhouse.

² Whitman to Greene, Coll. A. According to this Gray spent about four months in the medical school, from Nov., 1837-Feb., 1838. Since Gray spent most of February at Ithaca, the actual time in school was not much more than three months. Mrs. Walker in her diary refers to Gray as "Dr. Gray," evidently showing how he wished to be known. The title was dropped upon their arrival in Oregon.

With Gray and others at hand, Spalding found that he had more time for his distinctly religious work. He held some protracted meetings in October and planned for a similar series in December and January. In his Diary he recorded his Sunday topics. On December 2, 1838, he talked about the Samaritan woman and applied the lesson to "all present." The Nez Perces at that time held rather unconventional views on marriage. Polygamy was common and separation easy. It is not difficult to imagine Spalding stressing the verse: "Thou hast had five husbands; and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband," and applying it to "all present." Spalding was absolutely fearless in denouncing sin, sometimes being very tactless.

On Sunday, December 9, Spalding explained the ten commandments. This was a favorite theme, to which he returned again and again. It gave him plenty of opportunity to denounce the sins of adultery, gambling, and so forth. On the 16th, he explained the parable of the prodigal son and found the heart of Ebberts touched by the story. Spalding wrote in his Diary: "O Lord in great mercy bring into thy kingdom all these mountain men."

The missionaries adopted the custom of giving the natives Bible names, especially when they were baptized, and sometimes before. The two girls who lived in Spalding's home and who died in the summer of 1838 were called Mary and Martha. Spalding's first two converts were called Joseph and Timothy. The first mention of Joseph is found in the entry for December 2, where we read: "Joseph speaks most affectingly, urging all present to give their hearts to Jesus Christ without delay." This Joseph was none other than Teutakas who was described to Parker by his interpreter as one who prayed with his heart. Joseph is now usually referred to as Old Joseph, to distinguish him from his son, Chief Joseph, who became famous in the Nez Perce uprising of 1877.

Timothy's name first appears in the Diary in the entry for Sunday, December 23. Therein we read: "Before the sermon closed Timothy was before the stand in

tears." Beloved Timothy! Repeatedly his name appears in the Diary, frequently in terms of affection. The more we know of him, the greater grow our love and respect for him. In this service of December 23, Timothy experienced a spiritual awakening. Spalding wrote that he "was overtaken with grief and cried aloud."

Spalding's protracted meetings, when daily services were held, began January 1, yet during the month of December a real spiritual awakening was experienced by many of the Nez Percés. During the fall Spalding had held regular worship services with the Indians out-of-doors. On December 9, he moved into the schoolhouse which Gray had completed building and which measured twenty by forty feet. "Many sabbaths," wrote Spalding, "have met with this people in the open air, more probably than my head will allow me to do again, but now he has given us a house which with a little more labor will be comfortable." The schoolhouse, however, soon proved far too small, for large numbers of the Indians were arriving at Lapwai for the protracted meetings, so Spalding again had to hold services in the open.

On Sunday, December 23, Spalding spoke about the death of Stephen. Before the service ended, Timothy was again before "the stand in tears." Conner rose and told of the wicked life he had led and of his desire to change. Then Timothy tried to speak, but was overcome with grief. Many came forward, both men and women, to testify. Spalding wrote: "the scene, the most awful and interesting I have ever witnessed, continued, many waiting for the speaker to close, many deeply affected, till I rose and said those before the stand were all that could speak till evening."

It was a wonderful day for Spalding. "Late in the ev.," he wrote, "the girls are found in tears. They come with Joseph to my room." Joseph rendered valuable assistance to Spalding that day in that he helped to persuade many to give up their evil ways and become Christians. When the day was over, Spalding wrote: "O God of love what a sabbath this has been."

That night Spalding was awakened by one called Ap-pollos, who suffered such torments of a guilty conscience



Timothy, Chief of the Nez Percés. One of Spalding's first converts. Friend of the Whites. Faithful Christian.

Reproduced from a painting in oils by Rowena Lung Alcorn.

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Timothy, Chief of the Nee-Powos. One of the first converts. Friend of the Whites. Faithful Christian.

Reproduced from a painting in oils by Rosena Long Alcorn.

that he sought out the missionary for help. Spalding "talked and prayed with him." Spalding sent Lawyer to Waiilatpu with letters begging for Whitman to come and assist in the meetings about to be held. Whitman arrived on January 4 and remained until the 10th. Nearly the entire Nez Perce tribe was at Lapwai, waiting for the meetings to begin.

On Sunday, December 30, Spalding stressed temperance and secured many signatures to the total abstinence pledge. Already the liquor question was a live issue among the Nez Perces. The Hudson's Bay Company did not sell intoxicating liquors to the Indians, but the American Fur Company did, with the result that the Nez Perces were able to get all the liquor they wanted at the rendezvous.

JANUARY, 1839

The protracted meetings began about January 1 and continued until January 8. During this time Gray directed a large number of the Indians in the digging of a mill race.³ The Indians would work in the morning until a bell called them to worship at about the noon hour. After that service was over, the Indians would be given potatoes for their labor. A second service was held in the late afternoon and evening. "In this way," wrote Spalding, "multitudes were enabled to remain through the meeting, which continued eight days, who otherwise would have been under the necessity of returning home soon for want of provisions."⁴

Under Gray's direction and with no other tools than two shovels, a few hoes, and axes, a mill race half a mile long, four feet wide, and in some places fifteen feet deep was dug. Many of the Indians used sharp sticks to loosen the dirt, and others threw it out with their hands. Gray and Spalding encouraged them in their labors by telling them of the advantages of the flour mill which was to be erected there.

³ This mill race can still be traced out at the mission site, now the Spalding State Park, Spalding, Idaho.

⁴ Spalding letter No. 30, parts of which were published in *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 33, pp. 473 ff.

The protracted meetings were a great success. Spalding wrote of them:

Probably 2000 have made a public confession of their sins & pledged themselves to live to God, but few of these in all probability have any just sense of sin or holiness, however many give evidence of a change of heart, & among these are three or four of the principal men of the nation.⁵

One incident occurred in January, following the protracted meetings, which should be mentioned because of the light it throws upon some of Spalding's methods. Two extracts from Spalding's Diary and a few sentences from a letter of Smith to Greene tell the whole story. Spalding wrote:

9. [Jan.] Williams wife left him last night. Joseph & others go after her.
12. Williams wife is whipped 70 lashes. Indians come nigh whipping him.

Smith wrote:

He has been much in the habit of using the whip or causing it to be used upon the people. He has however failed not infrequently in getting individuals whipped when he has attempted . . .

In another instance after we arrived here. Mr. Sp. caused a woman to be whipped 70 lashes. He had married her to Williams the blacksmith. He abused her so that she ran away. She was brought back & whipped. After she had been whipped the people were determined to whip Williams & it was with great difficulty that Mr. Sp. could prevent it. He deserved it probably more than the woman & the Indians knew it.⁶

FEBRUARY

On February 13, Walker and Smith reached Lapwai. These two talked with Spalding, Rogers, and Gray, and found that several matters of importance needed to be settled, so it was decided to hold a mission meeting at Lapwai. A messenger was sent to Wailatpu for Eells and Whitman. In the meantime, Walker, Gray, and Rogers went up the Clearwater in search of suitable rock out of which some millstones could be quarried. They found

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ Smith to Greene, Sept. 2, 1840, Coll. A.

some that was suitable but were not successful in cutting out the stones.

Smith was guided to Kamiah by an Indian called Green Cap, and returned on the 21st, being well pleased with that place as a possible mission location. On the 22nd all of the seven men of the mission were assembled. On that date Spalding wrote in his Dairy:

Mrs. Whitman & Mrs. Gray do not succeed in settling their difficulty. Mr. Gray in all probability was the first person that made known the fact in this country that his wife was pregnant, but wishes to make himself & wife think that Mrs. Whitman pumped the secret out of Mrs. Gray & then communicated it to Mrs. Spalding & she to me, whereas Mrs. Gray had communicated the fact long before. A very little matter indeed to cause such a difficulty.

Spalding was chosen Moderator and Walker was chosen Scribe. Among the items of business was the adoption of the following resolution, which undoubtedly grew out of the Williams affair: "Not to marry a white man to a native except he be a candidate for admission into the church." Williams never showed any interest in the church, and soon after left Lapwai. Undoubtedly Spalding made a mistake in marrying him to a Nez Perce woman, but perhaps Spalding thought that a better policy than to let the mountain men live with the Nez Perce women, as they were doing, without getting married.

One of the main reasons for the mission meeting held at Lapwai in February, 1839, was to settle differences which had arisen between Whitman and Smith. Spalding wrote to Greene on October 15, 1842, saying of that meeting:

Mr. Smith declared he would leave the Mission rather than be connected with Dr. Whitman, and when it was found impossible to associate the two together Dr. Whitman consented to leave the station to Mr. Smith and commence a new one on the Tukana, where he would be central as physician.⁷

Before the idea was suggested of having Whitman move, the men discussed the advisability of letting the Smiths go to Kamiah. Spalding called it a "long debate." It was finally decided to have Smith remain at

⁷ Spalding letter No. 45.

Wailatpu,⁸ and have Whitman move. Spalding was of this opinion. Mrs. Whitman blamed Spalding for the vote and on October 10, 1840, wrote:

Every mind in the mission that he has had access to, he has tried to prejudice against us, and did succeed for a while, which was the cause of our being voted to remove and form a new station.⁹

The mission favored Whitman's settling on the Palouse, a branch of the Snake River. The mission also voted that the printing press should be located at Lapwai when it arrived, and the library, such as they had. Spalding was made librarian.¹⁰ Gray was to have the blacksmith shop, mill, and farm at his station, although Spalding does not indicate where that was to be. The meeting closed its sessions on the 26th. Mrs. Spalding was not strong. Her husband wrote that the presence of so many guests left her nearly exhausted. "Her feeble constitution cannot endure many more such shocks," he wrote in his Diary.

On the 28th we find this entry: "Ellice arrives as usual with a war party. One of his men, the Red Bear, breaks or opens the window abruptly." Ellice, or Ellis, later became prominent in the affairs of the Nez Percés. He had been to the Red River school and knew something of the English language.

MARCH

There was a great demand on the part of the Nez Percés for hoes. A blacksmith shop had been erected at Lapwai in the fall of 1838, and the necessary equipment installed. On December 20, Spalding set Williams to work making hoes. Spalding traded four hoes for a horse. His plan was to send the horses to the lower Columbia and trade them for old iron. He then placed a value of \$6.00 on each horse. However, the demand for

⁸ Whitman to Greene, Oct. 29, 1840: "I regret much that Mr. Smith should have been so anxious to go where he is [i. e. Kam-iah], as he so easily falls into loneliness & despondency."

⁹ *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 129.

¹⁰ Among the source material I have discovered and secured is a leather-bound copy of *Pilgrim's Progress* with this inscription in Spalding's handwriting: "Colm. Mission Library No. 44."—C.M.D.

hoes was so great that some of the Indians offered "a horse for a hoe." On March 5, 1839, Spalding wrote to Greene, telling him of this work. The following is an extract from this letter :

Yesterday a gun was brought for a hoe I found one gave it not forgetting the scripture, "they shall beat their swords into plow shares & their spears into pruning hooks." Today we have bought with potatoes & corn old axes &c enough to make 50 hoes. So while we furnish the hungry with food we put into their hands the means of providing for themselves.¹¹

The entry in his Diary for March 6 reads: "Great quantities of iron purchased of the Indians for potatoes & corn." On April 22, 1840, Spalding wrote to his wife's parents and said among other things: "Probably a hundred & fifty hoes are going from morning till evening."¹² He longed for plows, but until plows were available, he was willing to use such means as were present.

About one hundred families cultivated land in the vicinity of the mission station at Lapwai during the spring and summer of 1839. Since the Indians had never farmed before, the question of land ownership had never been raised. There was a Nez Perce chief called James, who laid some claim upon the Lapwai Valley as belonging especially to his part of the tribe, yet there seemed to have been the greatest freedom in permitting the Indians from other sections of the country to live there and farm. Joseph was from the Grand Ronde Valley, yet for a time he and his followers lived at Lapwai.

During the first part of March, Spalding and Whitman examined the Palouse for a favorable site for another station. They found nothing satisfactory. On the 11th Spalding noted: "Doct. is quite undecided. I leave him and start late, rain increases in our face. Ride hard, come to camp sometime after Mrs. S. Snows." Mrs. Spalding and their little girl accompanied Mr. Spalding on this trip.

When Spalding returned to Lapwai he found that Gray had been threatened by some malcontents during his absence. One of the ringleaders was an Indian who

¹¹ Spalding letter No. 29.

¹² Spalding letter No. 36.

had once helped to tie and abuse Pambrun. One method Spalding used to punish the Indians was to refuse to worship with them. "I leave without worshipping with them," he wrote on the 13th in his Diary. The next day he noted: "Multitudes threaten to tie & whip me. It is very well for us that it is all wind." On the 16th, the chiefs gave in to Spalding's demands. They asked his pardon and promised to whip the men involved, and urged him to worship with them again.

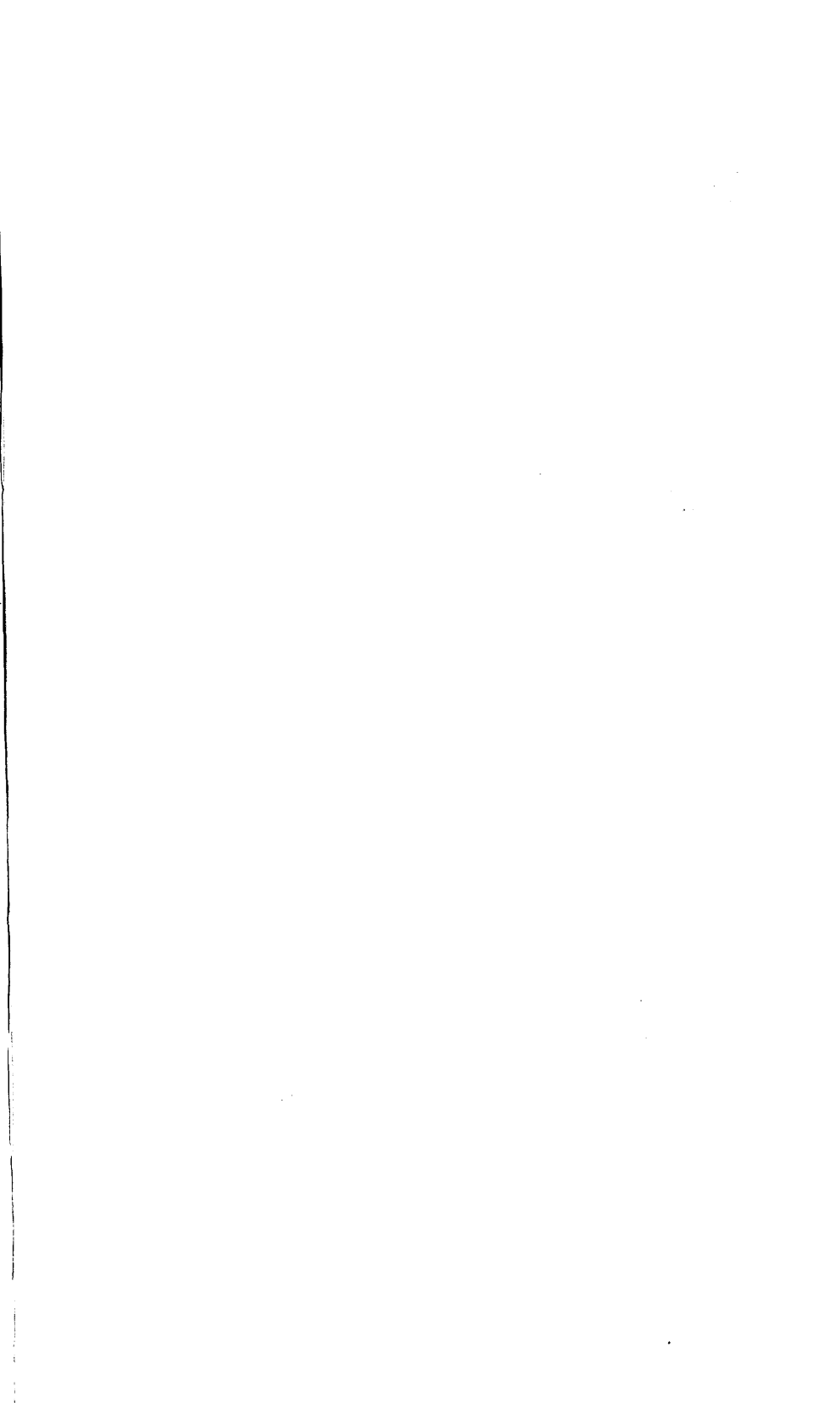
On the 20th of the month Mrs. Gray gave birth at Lapwai to a baby boy, who was given the name of John Henry Dix Gray, and who had the honor of being the first boy born within the boundaries of the present state of Idaho.¹³ During the latter part of March, Whitman and Smith visited Lapwai and had several long consultations with Spalding regarding the future of the mission.

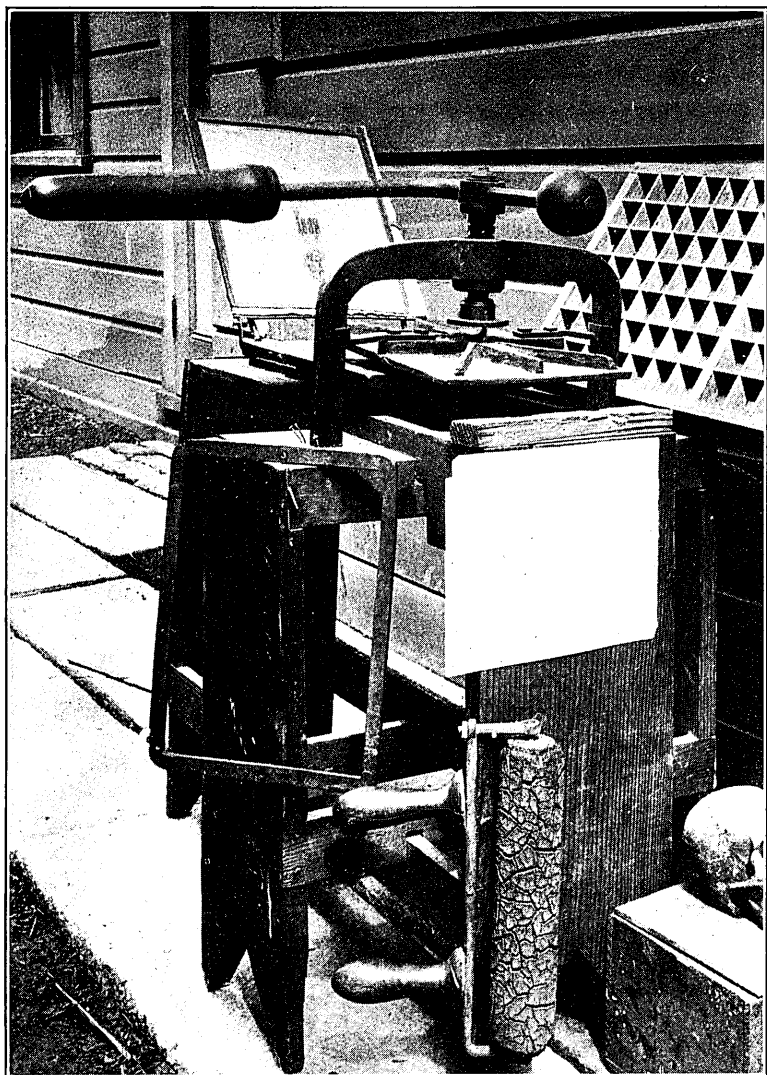
APRIL

During the early part of April, Spalding was busy with his farm work. It was seedtime. Gray completed building a corn mill on the 13th. Spalding sent supplies to Walker and Eells at Tshimakain, where they were starting their homes and farms. He finished planting one hundred and twenty bushels of potatoes on the 19th. About that time he learned that the printing press had arrived at Vancouver from the Sandwich Islands under the care of Mr. and Mrs. E. O. Hall, missionaries under appointment of the American Board to the Islands. Mrs. Hall was an invalid, and it was thought that the trip would do her good.

On the 24th Mr. and Mrs. Spalding and Eliza started for Waiilatpu to meet the Halls and to get the press. They first crossed the river at their home and went down on the north bank of the Clearwater below its mouth, where they crossed to the south bank of the Snake and

¹³ The baby was baptized on Sunday, April 21, by Spalding. He later became a sea captain and lived at Astoria, Oregon.





FIRST PRESS IN OLD OREGON.

The type has long since disappeared.

Used by permission, Fuller, *The Inland Empire*, Vol. II.

then took the trail to Waiilatpu.¹⁴ They found peace and harmony reigning at Waiilatpu. Spalding wrote:

Mr. Smith & the Doct on good terms for which I am truly thankful. Also Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Smith are on good terms which is a matter of much joy. Doubtless they have all prayed more & talked less. May the Lord continue this peace. Mr. and Mrs. Smith expect to leave soon for the Lawyer's country to spend the summer in the language.

Lawyer was the best teacher the missionaries found. He spent a part of the winter of 1838-39 at Waiilatpu tutoring the reënforcements. Lawyer's home was at Kamiah, where, according to Smith, the pure Nez Perce was spoken.

The Halls with the press arrived at Walla Walla on the 29th. Mrs. Hall was unable to ride horseback, so had to be taken to Lapwai in a canoe. Spalding in his Diary valued the "press, type, paper, binding materials, sugar, molasses, and salt" sent from the mission at Honolulu, at \$400.00.¹⁵

MAY

The party returned to Lapwai with the press on Monday, May 13. Spalding was happy to be back, and within a short time was informed as to what had taken place during his absence. He wrote:

Arrive home just before sundown, the canoe soon after. All well everything safe. Thank the Lord Oh my soul for his goodness during this journey, for his watch over everything during my absence. Mr. G. has planted some 8 acres of corn. Frost has done some damage for the Natives. One mare has foleled making 4 more coalts. The white cow has a heifer calf, the sow has lost her pigs. Mrs. S. health much improved also that of Eliza. She has now some 8 teeth, bless the Lord for goodness to this dear girl.

The printing press was set up at once, and on the 18th a proof sheet was struck off. It was the first press within all of Old Oregon, and is now to be seen in the

¹⁴ This was the usual route followed between Lapwai and Waiilatpu. Perhaps one reason why the trail followed the north bank of the Clearwater was that more wood was available on that side. There seems to have been a trail on the south side also, but traveling was usually done on the north side.

¹⁵ Spalding letter No. 32 estimated the value at \$500.00.

rooms of the Oregon Historical Society at Portland.¹⁶ On May 24, four hundred copies of an eight-page book designed for children and beginners was printed, the first book ever printed in Oregon.¹⁷ Spalding used an alphabet he had devised, in which some of the consonants used in the English language but not in the Nez Perce, were given vowel sounds. The alphabet proved to be too clumsy and awkward and was subsequently given up. The mission finally agreed on the alphabet used in the Sandwich Islands, known as the Pickering alphabet.¹⁸

JUNE

Spalding was busy the early part of June with his farm work. Mr. and Mrs. Gray made an excursion to Kamiah, sixty miles overland from Lapwai, to visit the Smiths. Although Smith did not want to have Gray live with him, the two were agreed on many things, especially in their criticism of Spalding. They thought he spent altogether too much time on the farm.

On May 26 Spalding suffered a fall which injured his side severely.¹⁹ The pain continued, and was so severe that on June 18 he was obliged to give up horseback riding. Early on Monday, June 24, while Spalding was helping Rogers²⁰ catch some horses, a messenger appeared on the north bank of the river across from the mission home and shouted over the news that the Whitman baby had been drowned. The messenger brought a letter asking Spalding and Hall to go to Wailatpu. The Indian messenger had ridden all night and had made

¹⁶ For the history of this press see *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, March and June, 1922, article by H. M. Ballou.

¹⁷ This is a very rare book. The New York Public Library has four pages; Oberlin College has two copies; Library of Congress, one copy.

¹⁸ *O.H.Q.*, Vol. 23, p. 48. "The Pickering alphabet . . . was based on John Pickering's 'An essay on a uniform orthography for Indian languages of North America.'"

¹⁹ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 126. Mrs. Whitman refers to Spalding's broken ribs.

²⁰ Rogers was then getting ready to go with the Indians to the buffalo country. He felt he could master the language more quickly by living with the Indians.

the one-hundred-and-twenty-mile journey in twenty-five hours.

Hall started at once on horseback and got to Wailatpu early the next morning, making the trip in about twenty-four hours. Spalding's physical condition was such that he could not go on horseback, so he, his wife, and their little girl went by canoe down the Snake. They left at 6:00 p. m. Monday evening and reached Walla Walla about 8:00 o'clock Wednesday evening. The next morning they rode out to Wailatpu, arriving about ten o'clock.

There they learned the details of the sad accident. About 2:30 p. m. on Sunday, June 23, Alice Clarissa had taken two cups from the table and had gone unobserved to the Walla Walla River, which flowed near the house. Her parents were aware of the danger of the stream and had carefully watched her in her play. That day, however, she escaped their notice, went to the stream and was drowned. She was soon missed and a search was instituted at once. The telltale cups found at the river confirmed their suspicions and heightened their fears. Some of the Indians plunged into the stream and discovered the body lodged against some branches. They tried to resuscitate her, but it was too late. Mrs. Whitman prepared the shroud, so tradition tells us, from the gray dress that she had brought with her across the mountains. The little girl was two years, three months, and nine days old when she died.

The funeral service was held Thursday afternoon, June 26. The only ones present, besides a few Indians, were the Whitmans, the Spaldings, Mr. Hall, and Mr. Pambrun. Spalding took for his text the verse found in II Kings, 4:26: "Is it well with thee? is it well with thy husband? is it well with the child?" Burial was made on the plain to the north of the house and west of the hill.²¹ It was a sad time, and one for solemn thoughts. Spalding wrote in his Diary: "Who is to be second. Oh my soul who is to be second."

²¹ The Whitman monument commemorating the massacre stands on top of this hill and can be seen for miles around.

Previous to this sorrow, there seem to have been such strained relationships between Whitman and Spalding that Whitman was seriously considering leaving the mission. It is evident that Mrs. Whitman did not like the idea of moving from Wailatpu, and we can hardly blame her for that. In a letter to Greene written on October 15, 1840, Whitman said in regard to these differences:

It was never my intention to trouble you with them though I have thought them of such a nature that Mrs. Whitman and myself must leave the Mission, and so strong was this feeling that I should have left previous to the convening of the Mission in 1839 had not the Providence of God arrested me in my deliberate determination to do so, by taking away our dear child in so sudden a manner by drowning. Since that time many appearances have changed and I have not seen it my duty to leave.²²

Mrs. Whitman in a letter to her father dated October 10, 1840, wrote of the same determination as follows:

He (i. e. Dr. Whitman) felt as if he must leave the mission, and no doubt would have done it, had not the Lord removed from us our beloved child. This affliction softened his feelings and made him willing to suffer the will of the Lord, although we felt that we were suffering wrongfully. The death of our babe had a great affect upon all in the mission; it softened their hearts toward us, even Mr. S.'s (Spalding) for a season. I never had any difficulty with his wife; she has treated me very kindly to my face, but recently I have learned that she has always partook of the feelings of her husband. I have always loved her and felt as if no one could speak against her.²³

Gray maintained that Spalding made a fourth confession of wrong-doing to Whitman at the time of his visit to Wailatpu to officiate at the funeral of Alice Clarissa. Gray wrote on October 14, 1840:

The first three times these things (i. e. the differences between Spalding and Whitman) were brought up and settled, as I supposed, left upon my mind little or no impairing of my confidence in Mr. Spalding, as a Minister and a Christian. The fourth call

²² Whitman to Greene, Coll. A. See also Marshall, *Acquisition of Oregon*, Vol. 2, p. 122.

²³ T.O.P.A. 1893, pp. 129-130. Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 122-123, is very critical of Whitman's intention to leave the mission, declaring that this "removed Whitman's name from the list of great men." As a physician, Whitman was indispensable.

came under the solemn and awful hand of death for us to bury, as it were in the grave of Dr. Whitman's only child all our difficulties, and ancient or past offenses against each other, in one grave forever.²⁴

JULY

The Spaldings started back to Lapwai on the 4th of July. The Whitmans followed the next day. All reached Lapwai on the 6th. On the 8th, Spalding, the Whitmans, and Hall started for Kamiah to confer with Smith over the alphabet question.²⁵ Smith became very proficient in the Nez Perce language and found the alphabet that Spalding had devised to be too cumbersome. Spalding had reached the same conclusion at an earlier date. "So it appears," wrote Spalding in his Diary, "we are all of one mind." He described his visit to Kamiah as follows:

... arrive at the house sunset. Mr. Smith's little garden will produce nothing from drought, but he can irrigate, timber handy for building, & plenty of apparently good land. He is living in a very open house without floor or windows much to the injury I think of Mrs. Smith's health. His food pudding & milk is quite too simple I think. It is duty to be self denying but a missionaries life is more than gold & silver. Mr. S. had made good progress in the language. But this can be accomplished without exposing health.

On the 10th, Spalding wrote again: "Settle upon the alphabet recommended by Mr. Pickering and the Board, the one used by the Sandwich Islands." This is only partially true, for the Hawaiian alphabet consisted of only twelve letters—a, e, i, o, u, h, k, l, m, n, p, and w. The Nez Perce alphabet demanded the additional letters s and t. The letters b, d, f, g, r, v, and z were used only in foreign words. This alphabet was formally adopted by the missionaries at the annual meeting held September 10, 1839.

Spalding wrote of the drought at Kamiah. The summer of 1839 was a dry one at Lapwai also. Spalding's

²⁴ Gray to Greene, Oct. 14, 1840. Coll. A.

²⁵ Ballou in *O.H.Q.*, Vol. 23, p. 47, states: "Nor does the writer believe that the missionaries assembled at Kamiah on July 10 to change the alphabet." Ballou did not have access to Spalding's Diary.

potato crop produced only five hundred bushels that fall, as compared to three times as many the previous year. Spalding managed to save his garden by irrigation, and thus added another *first* to his record. He was the first to irrigate within the present state of Idaho.²⁶

The heat in the Clearwater Valley at Lapwai is terrific in the summer, often going to 115° in the shade. In the hope of finding cooler quarters, and also to have a separate home, the Spaldings moved into an adobe "shop" on the 15th of July. Gray was supposed to have had another house erected by that time, but had failed to do so. Spalding wrote: "Gray has not yet built me a house according to promise. When that will be I know not." So, to avoid trouble, the Spaldings moved out of their home which Spalding had built in the summer of 1838 and turned it over to the Grays, and went to live in an adobe "shop."

On the 17th of the month, Spalding started on a long itinerating trip "for Joseph's country," that is, the Grand Ronde valley in what is now eastern Oregon. In his Diary Spalding gives a lengthy description of the trip. He speaks of the wild game that he had to eat, provided by the Indians. One day Timothy killed a wolf, and that also was eaten. Another time they feasted on six wild goats, a buck, and a brown bear. On the 24th, Spalding himself shot a bear. He did not like bear meat, however, for "the meat tastes of the hemlock boughs." Perhaps the manner of cooking gave it that flavor.

On the way Timothy's wife gave birth to a child. According to Indian custom, she withdrew from the party and while shielded by some bushes gave birth to her child; then she resumed her place in the line of march. In the course of his travels that summer, Spalding saw what is now known as Wallowa Lake, a most beautiful body of water enshrined in the Blue Mountains of what is now eastern Oregon. It may be that Spalding was the first white man ever to see that lake. He called it "Spalding Lake," but alas, that fact never became known

²⁶ This was on the site of his first home, two miles up the Lapwai creek. A portion of one of these ditches was discernible a few years ago.

to historians or geographers. Spalding wrote in his Diary:

. . . the sight of which has paid me for my journey. It is a most beautiful body of water, I should judge 6 m. long and 3 broad. S. end bound in by the snow topped Granite Mts., and the N. by a rolling hill of granite boulders, through which the outlet passes.

On Sunday, the 28th, Spalding wrote:

Had some humiliating thoughts of myself last night. Looked upon myself the most ungrateful, useless sinful one in the Mission. Thought if I could see my brothers & sisters once more I would cast myself at their feet and beg pardon for many offences, but felt ashamed to see them.

Spalding returned to Lapwai on the evening of the 30th and was disappointed to find that Gray had neglected the barley harvest and that he had not put a floor in the adobe shop which the Spaldings were using as their home, as he had promised.

AUGUST

On August 1, Spalding began working on a twenty-page book, with the new alphabet, which he purposed to use in the school. He set the type on the 6th and on the 15th struck off five hundred copies. Very little of interest happened this month. Spalding left on the 7th for the Snake River to salt down salmon for their winter's use, taking his wife and "sweet little Eliza" with him. Not having much luck with the fish, he returned to work on his book.

On the 25th, little Eliza got something lodged in her throat which refused to give way. The next day Spalding sent for Whitman, who arrived at ten a. m. Wednesday morning after riding all night. By the time he arrived, Eliza was all right again. Whitman brought the news that a "Mr. Giger . . . and a Mr. Johnson" were at his station. They were on an exploring tour looking for good locations for settlers, and were the harbingers of a great host to follow. With them were two independent missionaries and their wives, Rev. J. S. Griffin²⁷ and

²⁷ John Smith Griffin was graduated from Oberlin Theological Seminary in 1838. He died at Hillsboro, Ore., Feb. 5, 1899.

Rev. Asahel Munger.²⁸ These missionaries had gone to Oregon entirely on their own resources, and with the idea of establishing a self-supporting mission. Thus, suddenly the members of the Oregon mission found themselves faced with the very serious question as to what policy they should adopt toward the independent workers.

Since the annual meeting of the mission was scheduled for Lapwai in the early part of September, Whitman decided to remain. His wife was to come later. On the 30th of August, expecting to meet his wife, he took little Eliza on his horse and rode down the trail on the south side of the river to meet her. Can we not guess his thoughts as he rode with the little Spalding girl, so near the age of Alice Clarissa? Whitman missed his wife, however, for she came up the trail on the north side of the river, reaching Lapwai about sunset. Dr. Whitman and Eliza returned after dark.

SEPTEMBER

The first entry in Spalding's Diary for September, 1839, is the following: "Rev. Mr. Smith preaches against all efforts to settle the poor Indians think they should be kept upon the chase to prevent their becoming worldly minded." The differences of opinion regarding the mission's policy were becoming more clearly defined. Spalding's conviction that the Indians had to be taught the arts of civilization was a passion with him. Smith, on the other hand, was equally convinced that such a policy was foolish and even dangerous. The following are extracts from his letters:

I feel that there is very great danger of introducing the habits of civilized life faster than the natives are capable of appreciating them.²⁹

Had I known what I now do before I left the States, I can not say that I should have been here—The subject of Indian missions

²⁸ Asahel Munger was not an Oberlin man, as has been reported. The diary of Asahel and Eliza Munger, May 4-Sept. 3, 1839, appeared in the *O.H.Q.*, Dec., 1907.

²⁹ Smith to Greene, April 29, 1839. Coll. A.

is truly discouraging. . . . I cannot say send ploughs & cattle for this people. I have no hope of converting them in this way.³⁰

The mission meeting opened on the 2nd of September. Spalding was again elected Moderator and Smith was asked to serve as Scribe. Walker and Eells were not present. Rogers returned from the buffalo country on the 4th. Hall was invited to sit as a corresponding member. Active members of the mission present were Spalding, Whitman, Smith, and Gray. The women did not usually join the men in their deliberations.³¹

Several important items of business came up at this September meeting. It was decided to have the Smiths move to Kamiah and for the Whitmans to remain at Wailatpu. The Smiths' sojourn at Kamiah during the summer of 1839 was for the purpose of learning the language; now it was to be permanent. Spalding did not approve of the decision and wrote in his Diary: "I do not approve of this." On the 3rd, Gray and Whitman offered "to furnish the four clergymen with buildings, flour and corn, which proposal is accepted, by the Mission." The next day Gray sought permission to explore "with a view to a new location" and was given the right, although again Spalding was not in favor.³² Again he wrote in his Diary: "How does this correspond with the vote yesterday."

Smith was asked to prepare a book from the New Testament for the press. It was the plan of the mission to appoint a "reviewer" and a "referee" for each translated work. For Smith's book, Spalding was to be the reviewer and Whitman the referee. Spalding was asked to prepare a book from the Old Testament, with Smith as the reviewer and Whitman referee. Other works were

³⁰ Smith to Greene, Aug. 27, 1839. Coll. A.

³¹ Mrs. Whitman to her father, *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 128. "They think it wrong for females to pray in the presence of men, and do not allow it even in our small circles here," speaking especially of Walker, Eells, and Smith.

³² See minutes of this mission meeting, Coll. A. The minute regarding Gray reads: "4. That Mr. Gray be instructed to explore the Yankoomoo, Auhi, Cootenae & Coeur de Lion countries with a view to select a suitable place for a station in one of the above named countries."

assigned, including an elementary book and an arithmetic. Spalding and Smith were asked to prepare a hymn book, and be each other's reviewers. The question as to the use of the English language in the schools came up. It was voted to carry on in the native language. Rogers was authorized to work with the Smiths at Kamiah.

On the 5th, the various members left for their respective stations. The Halls returned to Wailatpu with the Whitmans. It appears that the Halls had not been happy with the Spaldings at Lapwai. For a few days the Grays and Spaldings were alone at Lapwai, but on the 9th, Mr. and Mrs. Griffin unexpectedly arrived. There was nothing to do but receive them, for they had nowhere else to go. The Mungers remained at Wailatpu. On the 11th, the Grays started on their exploring tour, and the next day the Spaldings moved back into their own home.

In the diaries and journals of the missionaries, and in their correspondence, occasional references are to be found regarding the presence of the Catholic priests. These references increase after September, 1839. The following, found in Spalding's Diary for September 19, is typical:

Doct. speaks of some difficulty from the Catholic priest. He is now at Walla Walla calling the Indians & telling the Indians that we are false teachers because we do not feed & cloth the people, that we have wives as other men & ware pantaloons as common men & not frocks as he does.

During the latter part of the month, Smith moved his belongings to Kamiah. Spalding finished digging his potatoes and found that he had seven hundred bushels.³³ also two hundred bushels of corn, sixty of wheat, and a few of peas, besides plenty of garden vegetables.

³³ Spalding letter No. 32. Therein Spalding wrote that he harvested five hundred bushels of potatoes. The discrepancy between the letter and the Diary might be found in differences of interpretation of Spalding's writing. His writing is sometimes hard to decipher.

OCTOBER

The Indians returned from their buffalo hunt in the fall of 1839 with but little dried meat. The buffalo were becoming more and more scarce, and the people were becoming more and more receptive to Spalding's arguments in favor of a settled life. "The prospects," wrote Spalding on October 2, 1839, "of inducing this people to lead a settled life is quite flattering . . . I think buffalo hunting will soon be over."³⁴

On October 4, Spalding had another unexpected visitor whom he was obliged to receive. It was A. M. Blair, who was one of the Farnham party which crossed the plains in the summer of 1839. They started out fifteen strong, but at the rendezvous all turned back except Thomas J. Farnham,³⁵ A. M. Blair, and a Mr. Smith. Blair reached Fort Walla Walla in a destitute condition. Pambrun sent him to Whitman, and Whitman sent him to Spalding. In a letter dated April 22, 1840, Spalding described Blair to Mrs. Spalding's parents:

Last Oct. a miserable looking old man came to me, apparently in a state of starvation. On inquiry he proved to be one of a party of some 15 who left Missouri last spring for this country, most of whom turned back from the mountains . . . came here from Wallawalla on a borrowed horse & must have suffered much had I not taken him in. He said he could work at cabinet work, or at mills, or on the farm. I put but little confidence in what he said, but told him he might make a trial at a flour mill provided stones could be found.³⁶

The mission had given up the idea of building a flour mill because of the failure of Walker, Rogers, and Gray to get suitable stones. Spalding, however, had not given up the idea and had decided to go ahead on his own responsibility. "The mill," wrote Spalding, "I feel it my duty to own, God willing, not only on account of the immense expense & trouble of depending on foreign supply, but for the advantage it will be in settling the natives."³⁷

³⁴ Spalding letter No. 32.

³⁵ See Farnham, *Travels Across the Great Western Prairies*.

³⁶ Spalding letter No. 36.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Conner returned to Lapwai on the 6th of October, after being at Fort Hall during the summer. Of him Spalding said to Greene: "He has been lawfully married to a Nez Perce woman, speaks the language well, & judging from his work so far this fall, will be of great service to me."³⁸ So even though Gray was away, Spalding had three men working for him, Griffin, Blair, and Conner.

On the 18th of the month, the Grays returned, having picked out a suitable location "about a day above Walla Walla on a small stream putting in from the S. W."³⁹ Gray began to make immediate preparations to move. Spalding, in his characteristic blunt way, told him that he was not authorized to move, that the mission had merely given him the right to search for a site. Moreover, Spalding reminded Gray that the mission had requested him to do some farming and building for the clergymen of the mission. Although Spalding's Diary does not indicate it, the evidence points to the fact that he and Gray had a warm argument over this matter. The result was that Gray left for Vancouver on the 21st of the month, where he investigated the possibility of finding some employment either for himself or his wife in teaching a school for the Hudson's Bay Company, or in some other capacity. In this Gray was unsuccessful and was obliged to return, much to his chagrin and disappointment. Had he found employment, he would surely have left the mission.⁴⁰

Spalding's entry in his Diary for October 29 is typical of many others, and reveals the variety of activities which occupied his time and attention:

Marry Hezekiah⁴¹ and Lydia. Son of Yellow Bear & relative of Am. Second spotted sow has 7 pigs Send letter to Mr. Smith by Yellow bear. Quite unwell from effects of cold in water & open

³⁸ Spalding letter No. 30.

³⁹ Spalding Diary, Oct. 18, 1839.

⁴⁰ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 101, states that the H. B. Co. refused to hire him because he could give no satisfactory evidence that his associates were willing for him to withdraw.

⁴¹ Not to be confused with the Hezekiah of the Cayuses, who comes into the story at a later point.

school house. Hope the Lord willing to have a more comfortable place next season. Have thought much lately of a Boarding school. Think it of vast importance. The Lord prospering us I hope soon to be able to sustain one from the produce of this establishment. Black sow has 9 pigs, hope God willing to raise these 23.

On the 30th he wrote: "Walla Walla chief refused to have his boy baptized by the Catholic priest on condition that he should never go into the house of the Am Missionary."

NOVEMBER

On the 11th, Mrs. Gray started without any other escort than some Indians for Walla Walla. "It would be better," noted Spalding, "if her husband were with her to pitch the tent and make everything comfortable nights." Her babe was then a little more than seven months old. What courage those pioneer women possessed!

On the evening of November 14, Whitman reached the north bank of the Clearwater opposite the Lapwai home, but could make no one at the mission hear him. Not wishing to swim the river, Whitman rolled out his blankets on the sandy beach⁴² and slept till morning. He remained at the Spalding home until the 26th, and attended Mrs. Spalding on Sunday, November 24, when a nine-pound baby boy was born. They called him Henry Hart Spalding.⁴³

While Whitman was at Lapwai, he and Spalding discussed at some length Gray's case. Walker and Eells were not present at the September meeting but when they learned of Gray's intention to establish a new station, strongly vetoed the idea. This made Gray furiously angry. It was thought best to call a special meeting to settle the matter, but due to the inability of Walker, Eells, and Smith to leave their stations at the appointed time, it devolved upon Whitman and Spalding to inform Gray that "the majority of the Mission are opposed to

⁴² Today there is still a sandy beach, called Spalding Beach, on the north side of the river. It is a favorite bathing place in the summer for people from Lewiston.

⁴³ Died, Almota, Wash., Mar. 22, 1898.

his going to a new station alone." Gray was called upon to fulfill the requirements of the mission and do the mechanical work desired. Whitman and Spalding prepared a letter which Whitman was to carry to Gray, who was then at the Wailatpu station. Whitman started back on Spalding's thirty-sixth birthday.

During the month of November, Spalding had the joy of seeing the first fruits of his missionary labors received into the church. On Sunday, November 17, when Whitman was present, Joseph, Timothy, and Conner⁴⁴ were welcomed into the church. These three had been examined as to their Christian faith and experience the preceding day. "Their wives," wrote Spalding, "do not give evidence of being born again." Spalding described the reception of the new members in his Diary as follows:

Assemble the people before the door. After calling upon the people to say if they know of anything evil in either of three since last fall, & finding none, I proceeded to marry Joseph & his wife lawfully his wife taking the name of Arenoth, also Timothy & Tamar his wife. After explaining to the candidates our confession of faith I proceeded to baptise Joseph, Conner, & Timothy, & they were solemnly received into the bosom of the visible church on earth. . .

After the candidates were initiated into the church we all sat down around the table of our Lord & commemorated his dying love. Oh what a glorious thought that we have lived to see two of the sons of the Red men brought into the fold of Christ. To God be all the praise forever and ever. Amen.

On the 29th, Spalding remembered the third anniversary of their arrival at Lapwai and wrote: "Three years ago today the Lord appointed me my work in this portion of his vineyard, but O how little have I done to root up the thorns & break up the fallow ground." Another year on the mission field had come to an end. It had been a busy year, and out of it developed many important subsequent events.

⁴⁴ A descendant of this Conner attended the Presbyterian mission school at Lapwai, prepared himself for the ministry, and was ordained.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

A YEAR OF DISCORD

THIS chapter, of necessity, must deal with the petty bickerings and unpleasant discord which developed among the members of the American Board mission in Old Oregon, and which came to a focus in 1840. Romancers have developed the idea that in the fall of 1842, Dr. Marcus Whitman mounted his horse and made his famous ride east in order to frustrate deep-laid plans of the Catholics and the British to seize the Oregon territory. As will be shown, the unhappy condition existing within the mission had far-reaching consequences, and provide a sufficient explanation for Whitman's ride. Since this view is so contrary to the generally accepted opinion that Whitman rode to save Oregon, it is, therefore, necessary to trace out in some detail the story of the quarrels which characterized the fourth year of the Oregon mission.

Spalding, for several reasons, became the object of criticism. Gray and Smith took the lead in sending long complaining letters to Greene. Rogers, Hall, and even Whitman did likewise. Walker and Eells refrained from carrying their petty difficulties to the Board.

The events of 1839, already reviewed, laid the foundation for some of these complaints. Gray blamed Spalding for the reversal of the vote of the mission which had authorized him, so Gray interpreted it, to start a new station. Smith was not of the pioneer type. He hated the trip across the mountains. Much of the time he spent on the mission field he suffered from ill health, which may account to some degree for his pessimistic outlook on life. Smith profoundly disagreed with Spalding's policy to settle the Indians. Both Rogers and Hall lived for a time at Lapwai and either had some unpleasant experiences with Spalding, or were influenced by Gray and Smith.

The difficulty between Whitman and Spalding went back to the unfortunate remark that Spalding made before leaving the States, concerning his opinion of Narcissa's judgment. Spalding aggravated this difficulty by talking about it to members of the mission, who, in turn, told Whitman what Spalding was saying. Then, too, Spalding was the one most insistent for the removal of Whitman from Waiilatpu to some new station more centrally located. This insistence but intensified the unhappy feeling which divided Spalding and the Whitmans.

The difficult pioneer conditions under which all had to live made it easy to magnify molehills into mountains. When we read of the bickerings and idle gossip and misunderstandings which existed among these people, let us be charitable enough to remember the unnatural circumstances which surrounded their lives.

GRAY SULKS

Gray returned with his family to Lapwai on December 28, 1839, very much out of humor at the turn of events that prevented his establishing a station for himself. There was nothing to do but wait for another mission meeting and have his status discussed again. He was peevish and looking for trouble. This attitude of mind boded ill for Spalding, who was obliged to live in the same station with him.

The mission had voted not to build a flour mill, but Spalding decided to go ahead on his own responsibility and at his own expense. This did not please Gray, for Gray was one who maintained that suitable millstones could not be procured, and yet Spalding was going ahead with that project. Instead of helping Spalding with the many duties about the station, during the winter of 1839-40, Gray spent most of his time sulking in his room, or standing idly by, criticizing what was being done. Of this Spalding wrote:

... the workmen who were engaged upon the mills at this station were repeatedly told by a member of this Mission, who has since left, that the Board would censure me for building them, especially as I had given the natives to understand that they were designed for their benefit. He said the instructions of the Board would not allow us to build mills, especially for the natives.¹

¹Spalding letter No. 45.

During the latter part of January, 1840, Whitman was at Lapwai. Gray took his troubles to Whitman, and on the evening of the 29th, Spalding had a "very unpleasant and unprofitable talk" with Gray, Whitman, Rogers, and Hall. Spalding wrote of this as follows in his Diary:

Another charge I am conspiring against the Mission as proof, Doct. W and Mr. R heard Timothy last Sabbath say to his class that it was my wish that the people become settled as soon as possible, have farms, houses, plenty of provisions, hogs, cattle, etc.

. . . what the brethren heard was true, and a doctrine which I have always preached, but so far from conspiring against the Mission I consider it the life of the Mission. I will meet them on this subject before a reasonable world.

Surely the verdict of the "reasonable world" is that Spalding was right. The subsequent history of the Nez Percés, their rapid advancement in the arts of civilization, and their continuous friendly relations with the white people,² can be largely traced back to Spalding's passion to get the Indians settled.

After sulking about the premises most of the winter without doing much to help, Gray suddenly, on April 2, announced that he was in charge of all secular activities of the station and took possession of the property. Spalding wrote: "Mr. Gray . . . took possession of the premises, which were possessed in common by us and forbids me to cultivate any part of the land. This leaves me destitute in a destitute country." It was then too late for Spalding to move to another location, besides there was the natural reluctance to leave Lapwai after having spent so much time and energy in developing it. One may wonder if Spalding thought of comparing his feelings with those of the Whitmans when it was proposed that they move from Waiilatpu. Spalding talked the situation over with his wife, and they decided to go ahead and let Gray take full control of the premises. Accordingly, he gave his full time to religious duties and to the work of translating a part of the Old Testament.

² With but one exception, and that was the Chief Joseph uprising of 1877, and then only a part of the tribe was involved.

About two weeks later Spalding received a letter from Greene in which Greene spoke approvingly of Spalding's policy.³ "God be praised," wrote Spalding in his Diary, "for this kind letter of Mr. Greene." Spalding did not write that he showed the letter to Gray, but it is evident that he did so, and perhaps with considerable satisfaction. For, on April 19, Gray had a change of heart and turned the premises back to Spalding. Then Spalding got busy and planted his garden.

THE INDEPENDENT MISSIONARIES

Spalding was criticized for being too lenient and liberal with the independent missionaries who reached Oregon, virtually in a destitute condition. The American Board knew of the intention of some individuals to go out on an independent basis, and on October 15, 1838, Greene wrote to Spalding about the attitude the Board's missionaries should take toward them. He wrote:

You should conduct [yourselves] toward them, as of course you will be disposed to do, with all Christian courtesy & kindness, & hold such intercourse with them as your circumstances & common calling may permit. But do not permit the affairs of your mission & theirs to become entangled, so that you shall in any manner be deemed responsible for what they do. Do not become entangled with them in any pecuniary matters.⁴

This was good advice, and yet what were Whitman and Spalding to do when the two couples arrived in the fall of 1839, except to take them in? The Mungers stayed at Waiilatpu and for a time rendered very acceptable service. On June 25, 1840, Mrs. Munger gave birth to a daughter. They continued to live at Waiilatpu until the spring of 1841. Then, to add to the complications, Munger went insane over religion, and an effort was made to send them back to the States. The Mungers reached the

³ Greene to Spalding, Oct. 15, 1838, Coll. A. It may be the letter of which Spalding speaks in his Diary. It often took more than a year for letters to pass to and fro. In this letter Greene wrote: "... you enjoy more & greater facilities for providing, to a great extent for your own support, with comparatively little labor ... Of these advantages we trust that you will avail yourselves."

⁴ *Ibid.*

rendezvous but for some reason missed the escort of the caravan and so returned to Wailatpu. They were later sent to the Willamette Valley, and there in December, 1841, Mr. Munger threw himself upon hot coals and was so severely burned that he died in four days.⁵

Griffin was a more stable man, and during his residence at Lapwai a friendship was started with Spalding which meant much to both. In the spring of 1840, the Griffins endeavored to start a mission at Fort Boise on the Snake River, but were not successful. A letter from Mrs. Spalding to Mrs. Griffin, dated April 10, 1840, is extant, in which the following interesting item written in the confidence of friendship appears:

Little Henry has grown very much in more than one respect since you left is very playful—Eliza has good health & fine spirits, & never appears more happy than when she can sit in the door and teach a groupe of little native girls what she has herself learned from her books—If she is permitted to go on in this course, *do you suppose* it will create jealousy in the breast of any person.⁶

Here we find a veiled reference to the jealousy of Gray. The Griffins returned to Lapwai in the summer of 1840, and then later moved to the Willamette, where Griffin took an active interest in religious and public affairs.

In the fall of 1840, three more couples arrived at Wailatpu, likewise believing that they could establish a mission on an independent and self-supporting basis entirely on their own limited resources. They were Rev. Harvey Clark, Rev. Alvin T. Smith, and Mr. P. B. Littlejohn, and their wives. Mr. and Mrs. Smith went to Lapwai, arriving November 9. Spalding needed help and was glad to have them. He wrote in his Diary: "Thank the Lord for this mercy. Oh my God do order it so that

⁵ T.O.P.A., 1891, pp. 137, 138, 144; 1893, pp. 135, 139.

⁶ Spalding letter No. 35. The letter contains an undated note initialed "J.S.G." i. e., J. S. Griffin, which explained the difficulties the Griffins faced on that trip. A second note reads: "A keepsake sent to Mr. Brown by Mrs. D. C. Griffin June 14, 1880 more than 40 years after it was written." This Mr. Brown married one of the Spalding girls. This letter also makes mention of a correspondence Mrs. Spalding was having with Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney, well-known poetess and editor of the *Godey's Lady's Book*.

they will prove helpers to us, and that we shall live in the bonds of brotherly love." Mr. and Mrs. Clark spent the winter at Kamiah with the Smiths, while the Littlejohns wintered with the Whitmans.

THE MILLS AT LAPWAI

The mission at its annual meeting held in September, 1839, reluctantly gave up the idea of building a flour mill at Lapwai. Walker, Gray, and Rogers said that it was impossible to get suitable millstones. When "the miserable looking man" by the name of Blair arrived at Lapwai on October 4, 1839, Spalding discovered that he was a skilled workman. Blair assured Spalding that he could build a water wheel. This was completed on January 11, 1840. As early as March 15, 1838, Spalding had written to Greene saying that he found some granite of superior quality for grindstones, about three days' journey up the Clearwater River.⁷ Spalding sent Blair and Griffin to the site, and they succeeded in getting out a rough piece of granite and then rafted it down the river to the mission site, where the millstones were cut into their proper shape.⁸

During the spring of 1840, Spalding erected a sawmill, which was in all probability connected with the water wheel which was designed to run the flour mill. Gray coöperated in erecting the sawmill, at least to the extent of assuming half the cost of the equipment. On April 1, the sawmill was completed, and Spalding triumphantly noted: "The saw today cuts through the first board. Thank the Lord for this great favor. May this mill prove an important means in settling the people on their lands."

The next day, Blair received from Spalding the money due him for his services, and he then left for the Willamette. Spalding paid him \$159.79 for his labor, be-

⁷ Spalding letter No. 19.

⁸ Nez Perce tradition states that the granite was quarried at Ahsaka, Idaho. On January 31, 1935, I found two rough pieces of granite with the ends sawn, which were evidently parts of the original piece. One of these pieces was sent to the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

sides furnishing board and room for the winter. This sum included five horses which Spalding valued at \$10.00 each.

In a letter to Mrs. Spalding's parents, dated April 22, 1840, Spalding described the sawmill and the millstones as follows:

The sawmill works well, wheel 6 feet by 30 inches in diameter —9 inch crank, 13 feet head. Millstones small but of superior quality, 30 inches in diameter, the runner 13 inches deep sufficient for our purpose, simple tub wheel without gearing wheel but 4 inches larger than the stones on the same shaft with the runner. This is the plan of flour mills in the western states.⁹

This letter indicates that the millstones had been cut out by the 22nd of April. Spalding was confident that with the aid of the mills he could reduce his expenses to one hundred dollars a year and "perhaps in three or four years cause this mission to support itself." Regarding the mill as an agency in settling the people, he wrote to Greene: "Without it I can see nothing before them but certain & speedy annihilation."¹⁰ The flour mill, indeed, is one of the greatest of civilization's gifts to man.

The mill was not used to grind grain until August 5, 1841. Under that date, Spalding wrote in his Diary:

Grind a little in the new mill. It needs another spout to give it sufficient power. Thank the Lord for this additional means of carrying on his work here. May this mill never be deserted from the glorious work of benefitting in a spiritual as well as temporal point of view this benighted people.¹¹

On March 16, 1840, Spalding wrote to Greene, saying that he was then paying \$26.00 a barrel for flour, including transportation, and \$35.00 a barrel for corn meal.¹²

SPALDING CRITICIZED

In the early part of 1840, Spalding became aware of a growing hostility toward him on the part of some of the

⁹ Spalding letter No. 36.

¹⁰ Spalding letter No. 34.

¹¹ It is possible that the mill was used before this date, but this is the first mention in the Diary and correspondence of Spalding of its being used.

¹² Spalding letter No. 33.

members of the mission. The unfortunate set of circumstances which sent Gray back to Lapwai quickly brought the difficulties to a focus. In the fall of 1839, after the mission meeting which gave Gray permission to explore for a new site, Hall had warned Spalding that Gray was in no mood to live with others. Hall said: "A man may do very well as a mechanic who would not do at all as an equal or associate. This you have already seen to your sorrow and great inconvenience."¹³

In the spring of 1840, an incident happened which aroused the ire of A. B. Smith against Spalding. It seems that the only milch cow that Smith owned had died and he had sent down to Lapwai to get one that Spalding had. Spalding wrote back saying that the only extra cow he owned had already been given to Conner for labor. Smith was angry. When the mission met in July of that year, Smith brought up the incident and persuaded the mission to adopt the following resolution:

That no member of the mission be at liberty to dispose of the cattle belonging to the mission, except by vote of the mission.

Smith, however, was not content to take his troubles to the mission. He wrote to Greene. On February 6 he sent in the first of a series of complaining letters about Spalding. Smith claimed that the Nez Percés were hopeless. "Almost every days experience," he wrote, "shows me more of their selfishness & of the awful depravity of their hearts." He was sorry he had ever left the States to be a missionary and was inclined to blame Spalding for his decision. He felt that Spalding had written misleading reports, which were published in the *Missionary Herald* in 1837 and 1838, the implication being that Smith was influenced by the rosy and exaggerated accounts to go to Oregon. "If Mr. S. had had more experience," declared Smith, "a better knowledge of human nature & less imagination he would have written different than he did."

And then Smith took up some specific points. There was Spalding's account of Tack-en-su-a-tis. "People at home," he wrote, "may think from what was written of

¹³ Spalding letter No. 45.

him that he is a Christian, but he is very far from it. Instead of being settled with Mr. S. he has become his enemy & proves to be a very wicked man." Smith claimed that this chief was interested in getting missionaries to live at Lapwai purely for selfish reasons, and when those expectations were not gratified, "he showed out his wickedness."

Smith criticized Spalding's teaching methods, and felt that the use of pictures was especially dangerous, for the "natives filled up the pictures from their own imaginations & in this way have acquired a vast amount of error which I find no easy matter to eradicate." Regarding Spalding's trip to Spokane in the spring of 1837, when hundreds and thousands of the Indians of that region followed him, Smith wrote: "They are always expecting some little favor of a white man & if they can get it by riding along with him one or two days, it makes no difference with them."

Smith was critical of the cost involved in the Oregon mission. He estimated that there were then about 3,000 Nez Perces.¹⁴ On this basis he wrote:

By the time this reaches you, this mission will have cost the Board not less than \$17,000, (the expense is already incurred) not less than \$12,000 of which may be considered belonging to the Nez Perce mission, making an expense of at least *four dollars* to each individual of the whole tribe. And as yet the work can scarcely be said to be begun. The language as yet is but imperfectly understood. But a bare beginning is made in preparing books & reaching the people. The great work of translating the Bible is not yet commenced.

The letter gives evidence that Smith himself was not at work on the translation of the New Testament as requested by the mission. Spalding began his translation of Genesis on February 3, but of that Smith had no knowledge.

The fact that Spalding received Joseph, Timothy, and Conner into the church in the fall of 1839, also provoked Smith. In the Congregational polity, the church receives new members by vote of the congregation, while

¹⁴ The present day population (Jan., 1935) of the Nez Perces is 1,399, of which number about 300 are of mixed blood. The tribe is now holding its own numerically.

in the Presbyterian polity the session, consisting of the elders and the pastor, exercises this function. Spalding and Whitman received the new members by the usual Presbyterian method. Smith was a Congregationalist and looked upon the act as being unauthorized. But instead of giving some of the blame to Whitman, he blamed Spalding for it all. He brought the matter up to the mission meeting in July, 1840, and the following action was taken:

Resolved, That the members of the mission located in the Nez Perce languages, together with Mr. Rogers be a committee for the examination & admission to the church of natives in that language.¹⁵

It was petty of Smith to bring up such a point. Instead of arguing about technicalities, why did he not rejoice that three such men as Joseph, Timothy, and Conner had been found who manifested the fruits of repentance and faith?

MORE COMPLAINING LETTERS

On February 25, 1840, Smith sent another letter to Greene, in which he criticized Spalding. During the first week in March, the Grays spent some time with the Smiths at Kamiah,¹⁶ where the two men must have talked over their grievances, for soon after Gray's return to Lapwai, he too began writing long letters to Greene, complaining about Spalding. He wrote on March 20, suggesting that some members of the mission ought to be recalled, or that the Board should send someone to investigate. In that letter Gray undoubtedly expressed the truth when he wrote that the novelty of the mission had worn off, as far as the Indians were concerned. At first they were eager for teachers, but when they realized how slow and difficult it was to learn, they lost some of their zeal and enthusiasm.

Gray was so dissatisfied with affairs in the mission that he asked Greene whether or not he should resign. The fact is that he would have left the mission before

¹⁵ Smith to Greene, Sept. 2, 1840. Coll A.

¹⁶ See Spalding Diary, March 5, 1840.

had he been successful in finding suitable employment with the Hudson's Bay Company. He wrote further: "I fear the death blow to this Mission is already struck and with its burial will sink the whole Indian race."¹⁷ Marshall in his *Acquisition of Oregon* makes this comment on the above statement: "That . . . sentence furnishes an excellent index to the mental caliber of W. H. Gray."¹⁸

On March 16, 1840, Hall joined in the chorus of disapproval. He wrote: "The state of things is truly lamentable, and I have been exceedingly grieved to find such a want of confidence and brotherly-love (in fact common politeness) among those who bear the name of missionaries."¹⁹ It must be remembered that Hall was present on the evening of January 29, when Spalding had his "unpleasant and unprofitable" talk with Gray, Whitman, Rogers, and Hall.

On April 15, Gray sent in his second letter of complaint. From Spalding's Diary we learn that it was on that day that Spalding received Greene's letter in which Greene approved of Spalding's policy in settling the Indians. Certainly Spalding must have made known the contents of that letter to Gray, for a few days later Gray turned the premises back to Spalding, and on the 15th wrote to Greene, saying in part:

Let Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding or Mr. Lee order as many hundred ploughs, etc. etc., as they please. If they are engaged in teaching the Indians the value of their souls I am confident they would not think so much about ploughs and mill irons, etc.

In the same letter, Gray suggested that Greene have a talk with Rev. Chauncey Eddy. "I have communicated [to him]," wrote Gray, "many facts that will most likely never come to your knowledge—Also Mr. Bullard of St. Louis in reference to the character of Mr. Sp." When Gray was east in 1837-38, he must have found great delight in whispering to all who would listen what he had found out about Mr. Spalding. On October 14

¹⁷ Gray to Greene, March 20, 1840. Coll. A.

¹⁸ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 106.

¹⁹ Hall to Greene, March 16, 1840. Coll. A.

of that year, Gray made another reference in a letter to Greene, of this gossip. "I said to Mr. Eddy when home my opinion was that they [that is, Spalding and Whitman] ought never have come into this field together."

On March 27, Whitman wrote to the Board, and while he was careful not to air all the difficulties of the mission, he did write the following:

I feel to regret the joint letter sent by Mr. Spalding & myself in 1838 as containing a forced view of things calculated to excite hopes not to be realized. This I have wished to avoid in all my correspondence. The letter was written in Mr. S. peculiar stile for which I do not feel responsible. But the signing I regret & also that such a bill of Indian goods was asked for & fear you may have sent them.²⁰

All admirers of Whitman can regret that letter, for it reveals what Marshall called "a moral weakness" in Whitman. Marshall accuses Whitman of doing "the baby act" by trying to shift all the blame to Spalding. The fact is both were enthusiastic over the prospects excited by Jason Lee's visit. Whitman signed Spalding's letter, and himself wrote out the bill in which he requested "several tons of iron and steel . . . 2,000 gun flints . . . 100 dozen scalping knives," etc.²¹

SPALDING'S LETTERS

It is illuminating to compare the letters that Spalding wrote about this time, with those of his associates. There are usually two sides to every quarrel. Smith and Gray gave vent to their feelings by writing to Greene; Spalding took the wiser course and wrote in his Diary.²² Be it said to Spalding's credit that he never wrote to the Board about the difficulties he had with his associates,

²⁰ Whitman to Greene, Mar. 27, 1840. Coll. A.

²¹ See joint letter of Whitman and Spalding to Greene, April 21, 1838.

²² Marshall, *Hist. vs. The Whitman Saved Oregon Story*, p. 53. Marshall accuses Myron Eells of suppressing Spalding's Diary. Marshall called on Eells and copied off some sections which he included in his *Acquisition of Oregon*. Marshall wrote (p. 53) " . . . it is evident that no advocates of the Whitman Saved Oregon story will ever have any desire to publish any considerable part of this diary . . . "

until he learned that such letters had been sent by others. He then wrote in self-defense.

Notice, then, what Spalding was writing about. On March 16, 1840, he sent a letter to Greene in which he reported the departure of the Halls for Vancouver, where they were to sail for the Islands. He took pride in reporting the reception of Joseph, Timothy, and Conner into the church. He related the sad experience he had with his adobe house. "The last winter has been remarkable for rain, our dobie buildings have mostly returned to the earth from whence they were taken. Our mud roofs show us that the earth was made to drink the rain & not to shed it."

On April 1, Spalding wrote again to Greene. The sawmill had that day sawn through the first log and Spalding was happy. He hoped to have the flour mill finished by that fall, and then he could cut down his annual expenses and come nearer his goal of being self-supporting. The total outlay for mills then amounted to \$581.20, of which sum a little more than \$50.00 represented Gray's share of the sawmill equipment. Spalding wrote:

I commenced the mills under very forbidding circumstances, The thing having been pronounced impracticable & probably impossible, by those who were appointed the year before to build the Flour Mill. I ran a great risk & accordingly arranged my expenses.

Spalding mentioned the fact that he hoped to have the first ten chapters of Genesis soon ready for the press. On April 28, he added a postscript in which he requested some supplies. He wanted ammunition with which to trade with the Indians. "It takes the place of small money with you," he wrote. He mentioned some of the prices he had to pay for supplies: \$11.00 for a two gallon copper kettle; 22¢ a pane for window glass; calico, 38½¢ a yard; salt, \$5.00 a barrel. These were Vancouver prices. Transportation amounted to about four cents a pound delivered at Lapwai.

Spalding also asked for weaving equipment. By 1840, his sheep had increased to twenty-six head, and the next year he reported forty-one. Spalding stated: "I have

constructed a wheel which a few native girls have learned to manage very well under Mrs. S's instruction."²³ The versatile Mr. Spalding! And the equally versatile Mrs. Spalding! In 1841, some of the girls made twenty-three yards of flannel, out of which they made some dresses for themselves. The next year, they wove twenty-seven yards of the same material and fourteen yards of carpeting. Mrs. Spalding taught them to knit, and wrote to her friend, Mrs. Allen, of Kinsman, Ohio: "They are fond of knitting themselves leggins of different colors . . . some of them knit stockings."²⁴

On April 22, 1840, Spalding wrote to his wife's parents and began his letter with this line: "More than two years have rolled away since the date of your last letter to us which came by Mr. Gray & associates." He who can read between the lines will read of months and years of loneliness. "Why," asked Spalding, "will you not write us at least twice a year? Imagine yourselves in our situation & I am sure you will not fail to grant us this favor."²⁵ The mail to and from Oregon went by three routes. It might go via the Montreal Express, by courtesy of the Hudson's Bay Company, across Canada. If some responsible party could be found, it might be carried over the mountains. Or it might go by boat around the Horn. The latter was the usual method in the early days. Many of the letters to the missionaries were put in the missionary barrels which were sent out from time to time by the interested churches.

AN ITINERATING TRIP

Spalding frequently went with groups of Indians to the camas²⁶ ground, or to the fisheries, or on a hunting expedition. In June, 1840, he took such a trip, and it was typical of many others. He accompanied a party of Nez Perces to Latah,²⁷ where he met some Coeur d'Alenes and

²³ Spalding letter No. 39.

²⁴ Spalding letter No. 55.

²⁵ Spalding letter No. 36.

²⁶ The camas is a plant with a root like a potato which the Indians gathered, dried, and ate.

²⁷ Latah was over the ridge north of the present town of Potlatch, Idaho.

Pend d'Oreilles. There the Nez Perces traded horses for skins, robes, etc. Spalding described the event in his entry for June 23:

The Ponderay, first brought into the circle their robes and laid them in heaps their value for a horse. The N. P. then led up a horse to each bunch and if the Ps thought the horse worth his robes, etc., he put his rope on him and led him off and the NP took the robes, etc. Some 10 horses were traded in this way. . . . This trade convinced me that the NP are not the only sharp traders in the world.

Spalding had services for the Indians on Sunday. Timothy was present and spoke. Timothy was even at that date rendering valuable service as a lay preacher. Spalding mentioned "Old Charlie" in his Diary, who attempted to speak "but was not able to go on for tears." This is evidently the same Charlie who accompanied Parker for a time. Spalding emphasized the evils of gambling, and incidentally "went to one of the lodges and collected several packs of cards and burnt them." Surely such an act called for considerable courage, yet Spalding was just the kind of man who would do it.

A little incident occurred one night shortly before his return which reveals something of the hardships the pioneer missionary had to endure. Some dogs stole his bag of provisions, and for nearly two days Spalding had to eat roots and a little dried meat one of the Indians gave him. "Felt the want of my salt, tea and sugar," he wrote in his Diary, "which the dogs had the goodness to relieve me of."

ANNUAL MEETING

The 1840 annual meeting was held at Lapwai, beginning July 4. All of the missionaries were present. There was a tense feeling, for all must have felt that their discords were approaching a crisis. The meeting opened on a Saturday afternoon with Spalding preaching, after which the new officers were elected. Walker was chosen Moderator and Smith, Scribe. Little business was done the first day. The missionaries voted to resume their deliberations on Monday morning.

On Sunday Spalding conducted his usual services among the Indians, who were present in large numbers.

Both Joseph and Timothy spoke. Spalding noted the whispered conferences his associates were having, and it troubled him. "There seems to be a labor," he wrote for that day, "I know not what it means."

On Monday the mission resumed its business. Gray was finally given permission to build a new station at Shimnap, at the mouth of the Yakima River, about twenty miles up the Columbia from Fort Walla Walla. Rogers was instructed to erect a building at Lapwai to house the press and to be in charge of the printing. Spalding reported on the sawmill and the flour mill. No one objected to what had been done.

The main business of the meeting, however, was the settlement of their personal differences. Most of Tuesday and Wednesday was given over to this. On Tuesday, July 7,²⁸ Spalding wrote in his Diary:

I perceive that the brethren feel that I am somewhat in their way. A strange doctrine was advanced, viz, that if one did not agree with the multitude he of course was in error and should be dealt with. I objected and said that God was always right, but not the multitude. I trust the Lord was with me. My dear wife had furnished me with several portions of select scripture on which I kept my eye most constantly, There seemed to be a fruitless effort at something, which looked very suspicious, but a great want of strength to perform their purpose. Oh is this the work of Missionaries. I went home with a sick soul.

Conference had barely opened the next morning before Whitman, "in great agitation," arose and declared that either he or Spalding had to leave the mission. Whitman declared that the root of all difficulties between him and Spalding went back to the expression that Spalding had made before they left the States, "which," wrote Spalding, "we had settled certainly four times before." Spalding asked Whitman why he brought up that old matter again, and Whitman replied that he wanted it frankly discussed, for the undercurrent of gossip which

²⁸ Spalding became confused with some of his dates in his Diary at this point, and called Tuesday the 8th. Tuesday was the 7th that year. Mrs. Spalding in her Diary under date of June 8, 1840, wrote: "...felt impatient to be delivered from the trying straits in which my dear husband & myself have long felt ourselves to be in, in our relations with our Brothers and Sisters of this mission . . ."

was going through the mission about it was influencing the minds of all. Walker admitted that when he asked Spalding why he had gone so far from Wailatpu to establish a station, Spalding replied: "Do you suppose I would have come off here all alone a hundred & twenty miles if I could have lived with him or Mrs. Whitman?" Gray declared that Spalding had repeated the whole affair over to him "several times."²⁹

The evidence is strong to the effect that Spalding kept this old quarrel alive by continually discussing it with members of the mission. What made him do it? Was it an inferiority complex asserting itself in a feeling that he had been persecuted? Whatever it was that took place between him and Mrs. Whitman, rankled the soul of Spalding. He could not forget. It is possible that it had some connection or reference to his illegitimate birth.

If Spalding could not forget, neither could Whitman, who was dissatisfied with the four previous settlements, and so, at that July meeting he brought up the old subject again. During Whitman's speech, Spalding remembered the good advice his wife had given him, and kept his eyes fixed upon his Bible. He described the scene as follows:

After several had spoken, plainly betraying their object, I was requested to speak, but I saw clearly that the time had not come and consequently kept my eye fixed upon my paper, a long silence ensued. Doct. Whitman's storm began to abate. He thought a reconciliation could be had and began to admit that he might sometimes have said things that he should not have said. Mr. Eells said the object of this interview was to have everything settled forever. I for the first time inquired do I understand you to say forever.

The spirit of Christian brotherhood finally prevailed. All confessed their sins, and with a common desire to see their mission succeed, they patched up their grievances and resolved to work together as brethren. Smith felt that Whitman "was very sanguine in his expectations that Mr. Spalding would in the future do better."³⁰

²⁹ Gray to Greene, Oct. 14, 1840. Coll. A.

³⁰ Smith to Greene, Sept. 2, 1840. Smith also wrote: "Gray remarked that that was the fifth time Spalding made such confession."

AUGUST, 1840

During August, Spalding was busy with his harvest. Gray was coming and going, getting ready to leave. Conner got sick and Rogers had a lame back, so Spalding had to do most of the work of harvesting the wheat, assisted by some Indians. All was hand work with old-fashioned sickles and cradles. It was hot, for the mercury registered 104° in the shade, and Spalding said it felt like 150° in the sun. On the 23rd he wrote: "By the help of the women finish about 110 bushels in all."

Spalding heard, during the latter part of the month, of the serious illness of his friend Joseph, and started on the 25th for Joseph's country to render such medical aid as he could. He found Joseph sick with a high fever. "Pulse 90 . . . I give dose of calomel and Jalap and bleed." Joseph responded to the treatment, so that on the 31st, Spalding began thinking of returning home. His friend insisted upon his taking a horse. Spalding was loath to accept the gift for fear that "people would say I acted on the principle of their conjurers." Finding that Joseph would be grieved if he did not accept the horse, Spalding consented, although he feared the possible resultant criticism.

On September 7, the Grays got off by canoes to their station. Another event of incidental interest which took place during September and was recorded by Spalding in his Diary, was the arrival at Lapwai of a keg of apples, sent by their friend, Dr. John McLoughlin, of Vancouver. It was indeed appreciated. Spalding had set out a nursery in the spring of 1837, but the trees were not bearing at that time.

MORE LETTERS OF CRITICISM

In the fall of 1840, another series of complaining letters about Spalding was sent in to Greene, and again Smith took the lead. As Scribe of the July meeting, Smith was supposed to send in to the Board an account of what took place. This Smith did under date of September 2, and at the same time a long fifty-two page letter, forty of which were taken up with his criticisms of Spalding.

Smith criticized some more points in those parts of Spalding's letters which had been published in the *Missionary Herald*. Both Parker and Spalding mentioned the possibility of a railroad's being built some day that would cross the mountains. Smith ridiculed the idea:

The remark of Mr. Spalding I have supposed to be a sportive one & I should have said nothing about it had I not recently rec'd intelligence from my friends that Mr. Parker is stating with a great deal of confidence that there will be a rail road across the mountains in a few years. It certainly appears to me that a man who has traveled over the ground himself must be strongly beside himself to make such a remark . . . any other man would consider such a project perfectly visionary. In the first place the country here is of too little value to warrant such an expense.³¹

Smith accused Spalding of accumulating horses for his own personal profit, an accusation which Gray repeated in his *History of Oregon* many years later.³² By making hoes and trading them four hoes for a horse, Spalding had increased the herd by at least thirty or thirty-five. Yet there is no indication that these were held as private property.³³

Smith went into detail regarding the quarrels between Whitman and Spalding, and between Gray and Spalding. Smith recognized the difficulties of getting along with Gray. Once when someone proposed that Gray live with the Smiths at Lapwai, Smith immediately replied that he could not consent for "it is as much as I can do to receive a visit from him."³⁴ Smith wrote that both Spalding and Gray were "very passionate & are easily excited to do & say what is wrong."

On September 28 Smith wrote another letter to Greene, this time only fourteen closely written pages. This letter contained the definite recommendation that "Spalding be recalled to the States and dismissed from

³¹ Smith died in February, 1886, having lived for about fifteen years after the first railroad crossed the mountains.

³² Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 110. "Inclined in the early part of his missionary labors to accumulate property for the especial benefit of his family."

³³ Smith to Greene, Sept. 28, 1840, Coll. A., reported that the missionaries owned at Lapwai, Kamiah, and Tshimakain: "47 cattle, 61 horses, 8 mules, 26 sheep, and 9 swine."

³⁴ Spalding letter No. 45.

the service of the Board without bringing him to any trial respecting his conduct here." And Smith made the following serious charge:

From what I have seen and known of him I greatly fear that the man will become deranged should any heavy calamity befall him. These remarks I have just read to Dr. Whitman and he concurs in what I have written, and says, moreover, that Mr. Spalding has a disease in his head, which may result in derangement, especially if excited by external circumstances.

As far as contemporary documents are concerned, this is the first time the charge appears that Spalding was on the verge of insanity. Smith referred to the presence of Whitman, who agreed in his conclusions.⁸⁵ Surely we cannot accept this second-hand report of what Whitman is reported to have believed, as a medical diagnosis. Both Smith and Whitman had reasons for being provoked at Spalding, which fact naturally colored their judgment. We find no other reference by Whitman to Spalding's "disease in his head." Some of Spalding's best work comes after this time.

Smith also recommended that Gray be dismissed. "I presume the opinion is general in this mission," he wrote, "it would be better that he should return home rather than go to another mission."

Gray wrote on October 14, 1840, reporting his version of the meeting of the previous summer. The next day Whitman sent in a fourteen-page letter, after he had learned from Gray that several had written to Greene about the mission difficulties. "It was never my intention," wrote Whitman, "to trouble you with them." Whitman felt, however, that it might be well for the Board to conduct an investigation.

Thus Greene had the following letters dealing with the unhappy state of affairs in the Oregon mission, most of which carried severe criticisms of Spalding: four from Smith, February 6 and the 25th, September 2 and the 28th; three from Gray, March 20, April 15, and October 14; one from Hall, March 16; and two from Whitman, March 27 and October 15. The situation looked

⁸⁵ Whitman and Spalding visited Kamiah in October. It must have been then that Smith consulted Whitman.

pretty bad for Spalding. Fortunately for Spalding's peace of mind, at the time he was entirely unaware that such letters had been written.

On October 10, Mrs. Whitman wrote a letter to her father which has become famous because of the following paragraph, part of which has previously been quoted:

The man who came with us is one who never ought to have come. My dear husband has suffered more from him in consequence of his wicked jealousy, and his great pique toward me, than can be known in this world. But he suffers not alone—the whole mission suffers, which is most to be deplored. It has nearly broke up the mission. This pretended settlement with father, before we started, was only an excuse, and from all we have seen and heard, both during the journey and since we have been here, the same bitter feeling exists. His principal aim has been at me; as he said: "Bring out her character" "Expose her character," as though I was the vilest creature on earth. It is well known I never did anything before I left home to injure him, and I have done nothing since, and my husband is as cautious in speaking and thinking evil of him or treating him unkindly, as my own dear father would be.⁸⁶

THE MISSION'S EXPENSE ACCOUNT

On September 22, 1840, Spalding sent in to Greene the financial report of the mission for the year 1839, together with a detailed account of his own receipts and expenditures. This record shows that Spalding was conducting the most economical station in the mission, and at the same time was building up such permanent and expensive equipment as his mills. Spalding wrote:

The following is a schedule of my expense of 1839 including my proportion of the draft for £634.6.7 . . . Expenses of each individual, or rather each ones proportion of the Draft, Viz

Spalding	£ 45. 6.11
Whitman	104. 4. 1
Gray	162.17. 0
Walker & Eells	133.12. 7
Smith	93.13. 1
Whitman, Walker, & Eells	25.15. 6
General Expense of Missions	26.14. 3

636. 6. 7

⁸⁶ *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 129.

Schedule of my own expenses

Clothing	£ 5. 1.10
Transportation of goods	9. 8. 6
Supplies to Mr. Rogers	8. 0. 7
Light and Provisions	3.10. 4
Indian goods	28. 3. 7
Supplies from colville not charged last year	14.15. 5
For building	1.12. 7
Mill Irons Iron	11.19. 6
Stationery and Postage	1. 3. 8
For hired help exclusive of native	22. 6. 8
House furniture	8.14.11

114.17. 7

Receipts

My proportion of draft	45. 6.11
Return from Dr. Whitman	15. 0. 0
From Mr. Gray for flour from my stock	6. 1. 0
For goods	9.11. 1
For do	13.10.10
For do	4. 2. 6

48. 5. 5

From Mr. Smith	4. 0. 7
Goods from my stock	4. 0. 7
For horse sold at Fort Hall & sundries	7. 4. 7

114.17. 7 ³⁷

The whole Oregon mission of the American Board, consisting of six married couples and Mr. Rogers, was costing the Board about \$3,000.00 a year. From this amount should be deducted considerable sums for permanent improvements, as mills, buildings, etc. As far as the missionaries were concerned, they received no salary over their living expenses. Spalding, with a wife and two children, received but about \$225.00 in 1839 for everything. In all fairness it should be stated that the income of the missionaries was supplemented by the occasional arrival of missionary barrels. These greatly helped out in the clothing line. The missionaries never considered furloughs back to the States even as a possibility. Their homes were of the most primitive type. Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding secured earthenware

³⁷ Spalding letter No. 37. Copy secured from a copy in Coll. O. Spalding was poor with figures. His total receipts were £104.17.6.

dishes before the other women of the mission were so favored; perhaps they placed their order first. They made their own soap and candles, and until 1841, Mrs. Whitman cooked over an open fire,³⁸ and it is presumed that Mrs. Spalding did likewise.

SMITH WISHES TO SELL OUT

In November, 1839, some of the Indians at Kamiah threatened to drive Mr. Smith from the country unless he paid them for the land he was cultivating. To their surprise, they found Smith willing to go, so they did not press their demands.³⁹ Smith was not the type to work successfully with the Indians, hence trouble arose at Kamiah in 1840. In the fall of 1840, Smith sent an urgent appeal to Whitman and Spalding to visit him. Spalding left October 15 and rode the sixty intervening miles that day. Whitman arrived on the 22nd.

At Kamiah, Smith told Spalding that several of the members of the mission were favorable to the idea of selling the entire mission to the Methodists. He was told that the proposal originated with Walker and that it had Whitman's approval. Spalding was thunderstruck. "My mind is thrown into confusion," he wrote in his Diary.

After Whitman arrived, the difficulties were settled with the Indians. Smith wanted to leave at once, and Whitman was sympathetic to the idea. Spalding urged him to stay, and it was finally agreed to have Mr. and Mrs. Clark go up and spend the winter with the Smiths. Whitman was feeling very discouraged about the whole outlook of the mission, and confirmed Smith's report to Spalding about his willingness to sell out to the Methodists.

After Whitman and Spalding returned to their respective stations, each wrote to Greene regarding this proposal. Whitman wrote on October 29 and recommended the idea as being "the easiest way out of the

³⁸ *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 146. "We have a cooking stove, sent us from the Board, which is a great comfort to us this winter, and enables me to do my work with comparative ease."

³⁹ Spalding Diary, for Nov. 27, 1839.

troubles.”⁴⁰ Spalding wrote on the 22nd, the very day he arrived back at Lapwai. After speaking of his great surprise that such an idea should even be considered, he wrote:

On farther deliberation with Mrs. Spalding, we are prepared to say, we wish to remain in this field & sincerely hope, should the proposal be accepted by the Methodists & approved by the Board, that you will find it consistent to retain this station & what pertains to it, viz, the mills, shops, printing establishment, cattle horses & sheep, & the Nez Perce people . . . Hence we wish to remain & spend & be spent.⁴¹

Surely Greene’s heart must have been touched when he read such an appeal! Here we see the secret of Spalding’s great success with the Nez Percés. He loved them and wanted to live and to die among them.

Much to Spalding’s joy, he learned from Walker and Eells that they were not in favor of selling the mission to the Methodists.⁴² Walker claimed that he had been misquoted. “This information,” wrote Spalding to Greene, “was most gratifying to me.”⁴³ Nothing ever came of the idea. Smith was the one who pushed it the most, and that was to be expected, for he was unhappy at Kamiah. Selling out to the Methodists would have given him a graceful way of leaving the mission.

INTRODUCING CRAIG

Just before the fourth year of Spalding’s residence at Lapwai came to its close, two mountain men moved into the valley. Their coming was recorded by Spalding as follows in his Diary:

Nov 20 . . . Cragg and Larison two mountain men have arrived probably to spend the winter. I have seen enough of mountain men.

⁴⁰ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 120, states that Hall, in a letter to Whitman dated Mar. 31, 1841, recommended this idea. “It would probably be the most effectual way to heal the unhappy divisions which exist among you,” wrote Hall.

⁴¹ Spalding letter No. 38.

⁴² I could find no record of the Methodists’ being interested or even aware of such a proposal.—C.M.D.

⁴³ Spalding letter No. 39.

William Craig established a permanent residence in the Lapwai Valley and was a source of much trouble for Spalding. Thus the fourth year of his mission labors came to an end with two serious threats hanging over his head, one being the recommendation of Smith to Greene that he be dismissed, and the other in the person of Craig. Although Spalding did not then realize it, much trouble lay before him. On November 26, his birthday, he wrote again:

Today I am 37 years old. Oh how fast my years roll away and nothing of my work is done.

CHAPTER TWELVE

WHITMAN RIDES TO SAVE SPALDING

THE Oregon mission of the American Board lasted about eleven years. Henry and Eliza Spalding alighted from their horses at Lapwai, November 29, 1836. Just eleven years afterwards to the very day of the month, the Cayuse Indians at Wailatpu massacred Dr. and Mrs. Marcus Whitman. Twelve others also lost their lives in that tragedy which brought to an end the work of the missionaries of the American Board in Oregon.

Those eleven years can be divided into two periods of nearly equal length. The first period is characterized by a steadily growing discord within the mission, which climaxed in Whitman's mounting his horse on October 3, 1842, and starting overland to Boston to intercede for Spalding and to save the mission. The second period is characterized by a steadily growing hostility without the mission, which climaxed in the massacre of November 29, 1847.

The Prudential Committee of the American Board met in Boston, February 15-23, 1842, and passed the order which recalled Spalding and made other changes in the Oregon mission.¹ The members of that committee had before them the complaining letters written by Smith, Gray, Hall, Rogers, and Whitman during 1840. In addition they had three letters written during 1841: one by Rogers, February 27; one by Whitman, March 28; and one by Smith, June 2. Altogether the letters be-

¹ Hulbert, *Undeveloped Factors*, p. 93: "All orders to expand the work in Oregon, or to contract it, or to deny it additional helpers, or to send reinforcements are explained by the Board's financial balance sheet at the end of the fiscal year." This theory is only partially true. *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 39, p. 2, shows receipts for 1842 \$318,396.53, and expenditures \$261,147.02. The drastic order of 1842 came when the Board was in good financial condition.

fore the committee totaled about one hundred and thirty pages, usually of closely written foolscap paper.²

As far as Spalding was concerned, the events of the mission, to the end of 1840, sealed his fate. The causes and occasions for the writing of the complaining letters have already been reviewed. This chapter will review the events of nearly two years in the life of Spalding, beginning with December 1, 1840, and ending with October 3, 1842. This covers the fifth and nearly all of the sixth years of Spalding's residence at Lapwai.

TROUBLE WITH CRAIG

For the previous four years, Spalding had happy relationships with the Indians at Lapwai. No one had ever questioned his right to dwell in the valley and to cultivate the ground. Whenever the Indians worked for him, just and satisfactory compensation had always been given. On rare occasions Spalding had difficulties with a few, usually when he had reproved them for some misdemeanor.

When William Craig³ arrived to live in the valley, things changed. Craig was married to a daughter of James, the Indian chief who claimed the valley, and this was undoubtedly the reason which caused him to settle there. As soon as he arrived, Craig began criticizing Spalding. On December 1, 1840, Spalding wrote in his Diary:

Old James and others say they have been stopped from going after timber by Cragge who tells them I am making dogs and slaves of them. I ought to pay them for going after timber.

Craig claimed that if Spalding were a sincere missionary he would feed and clothe the people for nothing, "without taking anything in return." He said that

² Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 124.

³ Craig later took up a homestead about eight miles up the valley from Lapwai. A near-by mountain bears his name, and a town, Craigmont, Idaho. He rendered some service during the winter of 1855-56 to Gov. I. I. Stevens, who was negotiating some treaties with the Indians, and received the commission of Lieutenant Colonel under Stevens.

Spalding was treating them as "dogs & hogs."⁴ Craig found a powerful ally and a sympathetic listener in James, who had reasons of his own for opposing Spalding. For one thing, James was inclined to practice the old tribal sorcery habits with some profit to himself. Spalding had greatly affected the standing that James once enjoyed.

Soon after Craig arrived, Spalding began to hear what Craig was telling the people. "From what the Indians say," wrote Spalding, "he came telling the Indians he would set things right & giving them to understand that I must be sent away & he take the place, mills, property. My heart sickened at the discovery of such a dark plot against the temporal & spiritual good of these benighted ones."⁵ Spalding sought out Craig and asked for an explanation, but got little satisfaction.

The day after the interview, Craig persuaded some of the Indians to destroy Spalding's milldam. "How is it possible," wrote the amazed and troubled missionary, "for a man born of Christian parents (his parents are members of the Presbyterian church) to be guilty of such deeds of darkness! We spend this day in fasting & prayer." Spalding made another effort to win Craig to a more reasonable course of action, and left "a testament, a sermon & tract" for Craig to read.

On the following Sunday, Old James rose in the meeting and accused Spalding of making the people "miserable," and said that he was ruining them. Spalding was heartsick. On the 16th and 17th of February, Spalding rebuilt the milldam, this time using rocks to make it more durable. In March, Craig and Larison left for the Willamette, but their evil influence remained, for on the night of April 4, Spalding's milldam was again destroyed and other damage done. "This is the fruits of Craig & Conners influence," he sadly noted. Craig had succeeded in winning Conner over to his side.

Craig and Larison returned to Lapwai on October 7, 1841, but Larison did not remain long. Spalding practiced the gospel of the second mile, and sawed a number

⁴ Spalding Diary, Feb. 2, 1841.

⁵ *Ibid.*

of logs for Craig in order to help him build a house. For a time Craig worked for Spalding, and outwardly at least they remained peaceful, but Craig's influence was always with the "heathen"⁶ party. At various subsequent times, he caused Spalding great concern.

SMITH LEAVES THE MISSION

Smith, who had been threatening to leave the mission for more than a year, had some unpleasant experiences with the Indians at Kamiah in the spring of 1841. This decided him to leave immediately. He arrived at Lapwai with his wife and all their possessions on April 21. Mrs. Smith was so ill that she could not ride horseback. Mrs. Spalding had been sick, and also Mr. Rogers. Spalding sent word for Whitman to come, which he did. Rogers wanted to go to Waiilatpu, where he could receive better medical attention, so it was decided that he should accompany the Smiths down the river.

Smith told Spalding that Mrs. Smith's health was the deciding cause for his leaving the field, but Spalding was not deceived. "I am fully persuaded," he confided in his Diary, "that this is not the principle reason of Mr. Smith's leaving the mission. He says he will go home in disgrace before he will remain longer in the Indian country." The Smiths went on to Vancouver, where they remained for several months under a doctor's care. They sailed for the Sandwich Islands, arriving there January 25, 1842.⁷

Perhaps no one in the Oregon mission had such a mastery of the Nez Perce language as did A. B. Smith at the time he left. He was a student and could have rendered a real service had he remained. With the help of Rogers and of Lawyer, Smith completed a vocabulary and a grammar of the Nez Perce language.

⁶ The title "heathen" is still used by the Nez Percés without apology to designate the non-Christian party.

⁷ The Smiths continued their labors as missionaries in the Islands until 1845, when they returned to the States. Smith held several pastorates in the East, finally settling at Sherwood, Tenn., where he died Feb. 10, 1866. Mrs. Smith died in May, 1855. For biographical sketch see Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 322.

ROGERS LEAVES THE MISSION

Rogers was sick and discouraged at Lapwai when the Smiths passed through, and was undoubtedly much influenced by Smith's decision to leave the mission. Rogers had been thinking of doing the same thing, for in a letter written to Greene dated February 27, 1841, Rogers wrote: "I will simply say that Mr. Spalding is felt by me to be the principal cause of my course."⁸

Rogers went to Waiilatpu, where he soon recovered from his sickness. He became friendly with Mr. Pambrun, factor of the Hudson's Bay post at Walla Walla. Pambrun conceived the idea of marrying his daughter Maria to Rogers and pushed the arrangements to that end with zeal. On May 11, Rogers and Pambrun were riding horseback, when Pambrun's horse became unmanageable. Pambrun was so injured internally that he died four days later. Before he died he willed more than a fair share of his property to his daughter Maria, and some property and a hundred pounds sterling to Rogers with the understanding that Rogers was to marry Maria.

The missionaries were amazed at such developments. Mrs. Whitman wrote:

This was a great trial to us, for we did not consider her worthy of him, besides being a half-breed and a Catholic. She has had no education, except barely to learn to read and write.

Following the death of Pambrun, the family moved to Vancouver. There, according to Mrs. Whitman, the girl refused to marry Rogers. He returned the property and the money.⁹

When Spalding first heard the rumor of Rogers' marrying Maria, he could scarcely believe it. "Is it possible!" he wrote in his Diary. "What will it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" Rogers resigned from the mission and went to the Willamette in the summer of 1841. He was employed for a

⁸ Rogers to Greene, Feb. 27, 1841. Coll. A.

⁹ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, pp. 139 ff.

time as interpreter by Commodore Wilkes.¹⁰ Rogers was married in September, 1842, to Miss Satira Leslie, daughter of a member of the Methodist mission. On February 1, 1843, he, his wife, and several others were accidentally carried over the Willamette Falls and were drowned.¹¹

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF 1841

The annual meeting of the Oregon mission of 1841 was held at Waiilatpu from Wednesday, June 9 to Monday, the 14th. Although Mrs. Spalding was still feeble from the very serious illness she suffered in April, she and the children accompanied Mr. Spalding. The family went by canoe to Fort Walla Walla, and then by horseback to Waiilatpu. At the Fort, Spalding was delighted to find a barrel of goods directed to him from Dr. Allen of Kinsman, Ohio. The barrel had been two years on its way, and contained some much-needed clothing and letters from their loved ones. Spalding valued the contents at one hundred dollars.

The Spaldings arrived at Waiilatpu the afternoon of the 8th. The mission began its business session the next morning, taking up first the election of officers, and then the review of the financial situation. Walker was chosen Moderator, and Eells, Scribe. The total annual expense of the mission, as far as the Board was concerned, was £554.8.10, as compared with £634.6.7 the previous year. Spalding's share of this amounted to £73.3.9, and according to his report to Greene was divided as follows:

Indian goods	£31.17. 6
Labor	16.31. 1
Medicines & groceries	8. 1. 5
House furniture & clothing	9.12. 3
Farming & Mech. Tools	6. 4.11
Light and stationery	14. 7

Whole amounted 73. 3. 9 ¹²

¹⁰ In 1838 the U. S. Govt. sent out the Wilkes Expedition to explore the northwest coast of America. Wilkes, with a part of his squadron, reached the mouth of the Columbia, April 28, 1841.

¹¹ Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 329, contains a brief biographical sketch of Rogers. Eells infers that he was married in 1841; Spalding letter No. 52 states that he was married in 1842.

¹² Spalding letter No. 39.

On Friday, the old quarrels burst out again. Spalding wrote in his Diary:

During the business of today it came out more than probable that the feelings of the brethren towards myself & Mrs. Spalding were not such as are greatly to be desired in order to success in this holy cause . . . I was particularly grieved by being accused by Mr. Rogers through Dr. Whitman of using all my knowledge of the Nez Perce language, to the disadvantage of the Mission. . . . I think that this charge is entirely without foundation. I was still more grieved when the brethren took this charge from the hands of Rogers & applied it to all my conduct in relation to the Mission, stating distinctly that they considered me as opperating in every way to destroy the Mission.

Spalding felt that some of the discord arose out of envy, or jealousy, or out of misunderstood Indian reports. He admitted that at times he was at fault.

On Saturday, the discussions were continued. Gray was asked to give up the idea of a separate station and to live at Waiilatpu, coöperating with Whitman. Walker, Eells, and Whitman were given the right to give or sell cattle to natives or others, but Spalding's request for a cow and a bull for A. T. Smith was refused. On this day Spalding learned for the first time of the complaining letters which had been sent in to the Board by Gray, Smith, and Whitman. He wrote in his Diary: "The Lord in great mercy look upon these men and forgive their sins to sustain his unworthy servant to kindness under these accumulating trials."

Spalding was much humbled by what he learned, and sought out the Whitmans the next day for a frank heart-to-heart talk with them. He again confessed his errors and begged for their forgiveness, especially for Mrs. Whitman's. He was given a cool reception!¹³ He wrote: "... was astonished at self-righteousness manifested by

¹³ Whitman to Greene, July 13, 1841: "We never had a meeting which promised so much harmony among the members of the mission as this. We had a most plain talk with Mr. Spalding which resulted in his acknowledging himself to be in the wrong in the leading causes of complaint & that he had been very jealous. I will not be too sanguine for the future but this much I can say, he has pledged himself that he will not be so jealous & that he will cooperate with the Mission & most especially with Mrs. Whitman and myself."

Meteorological observations at Clearwater, Dec 1839 to Feb 1841.
 Observations at 16.30 Long 118.30 U per London. Permanently with Dec 1839 ending with 16.41. Dewing day not included in the average. The same months of different years differ almost as much as different months of the same year. In 35-39 were cold, Jan of 40 was warm with great quantities of rain, frost goes till the last days. In 1/41 cold months experienced 5 dates in the country.

Month	Precip. cold	Days of snow	Days of frost	Days of rain	Other rain	Monthly mean		Precip. limit range	Precip. - limit of range	Weather				
						2 p.m.	9 p.m.			Clear days	Cloudy days	Windy days	Foggy days	Thunder
Dec	24	14	55	9	36.5	46.03	40.38	31	16	4	9	16	2	
Jan	9	31	52	18	33.03	43.03	36.51	43	21	12	12	6	1	
Feb	19	1	62	26	38.34	49.07	40.43	45	20	2	12	11	4	
March	9	19	80	31	35.26	53.06	41.44	71	42	12	10	5	2	
April	27	28	80	1	40.86	60.76	46.06	53	42	12	10	6	2	
May	30	18	87	22	46.0	61.9	54.67	60	43	9	14	7		
June	47	1	99	30	59.16	85.7	68.56	52	45	22	8			
July	48	10	104	40	67.6	90.9	68.4	56	40	24	4	3		
Aug	50	20	107	12	69.13	88.95	70.32	57	43	23	7	2		
Sept	48	29	100	19	68.9	86.46	61.13	52	40	16	5	9		
Oct	27	24	78	3	58.13	59.44	46.44	51	37	23	5	3		
Nov	23	27	58	15	55.73	50.3	40.8	35	23	6	3	21	1	
Dec	19	31	55	14	36.51	46.55	41.09	36	23	12	3	16		
Jan	26	16	48	26	20.4	29.46	25	74	46	9	1	4	8	
Feb	14	10	66	28	22.39	16.44	27.8	80	42	17	4	4	3	

SPALDING'S WEATHER STATISTICS

Taken at Clearwater, December, 1839, to February, 1841.
 Original at Whitman College.

our bro and Sis." Spalding stepped aside at the services held that day, and asked Eells to officiate.

THE WILKES EXPEDITION

During the week after Spalding's return to Lapwai, five members of the Wilkes Expedition arrived at that station. This party consisted of Lieut. Johnson, Stearns, Breckenridge, Pickering, and Waldron. They remained at Lapwai over Sunday, June 27. While at Lapwai, members of the party took latitude and longitude readings, which Spalding noted in his Diary as: "Lat. of this station 46 degrees 28' 23" Variation of compass easterly 18° 50' 16"."¹⁴ They calculated the height of the bluffs on the north side of the river opposite the mission house and found them to be "2,088 feet" above the river. The width of the river at that point was "460 feet." Spalding gave them the weather reports which he had kept for five years. He told them of the cold day of the previous winter, January 16, 1841, when the thermometer went to 26° F. below zero.¹⁵

Spalding had just returned from the mission meeting and was feeling discouraged over the unhappy situation which existed. After showing his visitors the extent of his work, he asked them whether or not he ought to feel discouraged. According to Spalding, they replied that: "From what we see, we judge you have the least [cause] of any missionaries we have seen in our three years voyage." Nowhere had the members of the expedition seen such order among natives on a Sabbath day as they saw at Lapwai. They were especially impressed with Joseph. "I never expected this of a N. American savage," said one.¹⁶

Spalding's account of their visit harmonizes with the official report of the party. In it we read:

¹⁴ Compare with Spalding's readings taken in 1836. See page 160.

¹⁵ Spalding letter No. 71. Later Spalding reported it 30° F. below zero on the 16th and 17th of January, 1847.

¹⁶ Spalding letter No. 39.

Meteorological observations at Clearwater, Dec 1839 to Jan 1841.
 Latitude 46.30 Long 118.30 W for Spalding. Commencing with Dec
 1839 ending with Feb 1841. During days not included in the above the same
 months of different years differ almost as much as different months
 of the same year. Jan 1839 was cold, Jan 1840 was warm
 with great quantities of rain, fresh grass till the last days. In 1841 cold
 months experienced 5 days in the country.

Month	Frost cold	Days of snow	Frost feet	Days of rain	Monthly mean			Weather		Frost days	Snowy days	Thunder	
					therm rise	2 P M	4 P M	mean of month	mean of range				Clear days	Cloudy days
Dec	24	14	55	9	36.51	56.03	40.58	31	16	4	9	16	2
Jan	9	31	52	18	33.03	43.03	36.41	43	21	12	12	6	1
Feb	19	1	62	26	38.34	47.07	40.43	45	20	2	12	11	4
March	9	19	80	31	35.96	53.06	41.44	71	42	12	10	5	2
April	27	28	80	1	40.86	60.76	46.06	53	42	12	10	6	2
May	30	10	87	22	46.0	61.9	54.67	60	43	9	14	7	
June	47	1	90	30	59.16	85.7	65.34	52	45	22	8		
July	48	10	104	12	60.64	90.9	68.4	56	42	24	4	3	
Aug	50	20	107	12	63.03	88.95	70.32	57	43	23	7	6	
Sept	48	29	100	19	58.9	86.46	61.13	52	40	16	5	9	
Oct	27	24	78	3	58.18	59.41	44.44	51	37	23	5	3	
Nov	23	29	58	5	55.75	50.3	40.8	35	23	6	3	21	1
Dec	19	31	55	14	36.81	46.55	41.09	36	23	12	3	16	
Jan	26	16	48	26	20.4	29.46	25	7	46	8	1	4	8
Feb	14	10	66	28	22.79	16.41	27.8	80	42	17	4	3	

SPALDING'S WEATHER STATISTICS

Taken at Clearwater, December, 1839, to February, 1841.
 Original at Whitman College.

our bro and Sis." Spalding stepped aside at the services held that day, and asked Eells to officiate.

THE WILKES EXPEDITION

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His [Spalding's] efforts in agriculture are not less exemplary, for he has twenty acres of fine wheat, and a large field in which were potatoes, corn, melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, etc. the whole of which were in fine order.

The great endeavour of Mr. Spalding is to induce the Indians to give up their roving mode of life, and to settle down and cultivate the soil; and in this he is succeeding admirably. He shows admirable tact and skill, together with untiring industry and perseverance in the prosecution of his labours as a missionary; and he appears to be determined to leave nothing undone that one person alone can perform.¹⁷

They reported that one Indian, perhaps Timothy, had built himself a log cabin. All evidence points to the sane and sensible methods Spalding used to induce the Indians to become settled.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH GREENE

Long intervals of time sometimes elapsed for the Spaldings at Lapwai between the arrival of letters from home. July 10, 1841, was a red letter day in their calendar, for on that day they received six letters, two of which were from the Rev. David Greene. These were dated May 3 and June 8, 1840. At the time of their writing, Greene knew nothing of the discord within the mission, except perhaps the gossip which Gray had left in the States when he was back in 1837-38.¹⁸

Spalding considered Greene's letters as being of "vast importance" to him at that time. "He enjoins it upon us as a mission," Spalding wrote, "to do all we can to aid the self supporting missionaries." Spalding remembered how the mission had voted down his request to give A. T. Smith an American cow and bull. "What will the brethren say to this after taking the course they have?" he asked himself.¹⁹ Greene's letter made Spalding feel more

¹⁷ Wilkes, *U. S. Exploring Expedition*, pp. 460 ff. See also Appendix XIII for a copy of Spalding's weather reports. This expedition penetrated into the Antarctic regions when rounding the Horn. Spalding Diary, June 25, 1841: "The squadron . . . discovered a new continent and named it the Antartick continent."

¹⁸ A letter from Greene to Spalding, dated Aug. 3, 1840, is in Coll. W., in which Greene wrote regarding the independent workers: "Do all you can to encourage them in their labours."

¹⁹ Spalding Diary, July 10, 1841.

confident than ever that he had pursued the right course as far as mission policy was concerned.

On July 12, 1841, Spalding replied to Greene and told of the difference of opinion which existed in the mission on the subject of how the independent missionaries were to be treated. "I felt myself bound at last meeting to say," he wrote, "that the honor of the Board would not allow us, their representatives, to make these brethren beggars, when they wished to be fellow helpers."

Spalding reported on the material condition of the station at Lapwai:

The sawmill cut a good quantity of boards last spring. . . . Mr. Smith [A. T. Smith] is now finishing the flour mill, which for a long time has been nearly ready . . . My wheat is very good—expect about 300 bushels.

He stated that there were at Lapwai the following head of live stock: twenty-one cattle, thirty-five horses, and forty-one sheep.

He referred to the good school they conducted the previous winter: "Children made greater improvement than I have ever before witnessed, which greatly encouraged us. Several girls are doing well at carding & spinning." He acknowledged that there was a falling off in religious interest on the part of the Indians.

He also wrote: "I believe the most discouraging letter I have written was a short one last Oct. after my return from Mr. Smith's. My mind was then in great perplexity." It is true, Spalding's letter of October 22, 1840, struck a discouraged note, yet it is rosy with optimism compared to the accounts that Smith and Gray sent in. Spalding had his troubles, as his Diary shows, but he was not the kind to carry them to Greene.

Spalding was aware of his hasty temper, and often regretted the things he said and did in the heat of passion. His wife, who knew him better than he knew himself, was ever ready to advise and restrain him. They observed together the 21st of July as a day of prayer and adopted some resolutions "tending to keep us from falling into a passion on any occasion especially when injured by our brethren."²⁰

²⁰ Spalding Diary.

On the 21st of August, Spalding received two letters from Greene, both of which were written on November 4, 1840. The first of these two letters was a general letter of reproof designed for the whole mission. Greene had just received the first group of complaining letters and was grieved to learn of the sad conditions existing in the Oregon mission.²¹ The second letter told of the sending of some articles that Spalding had ordered.²² Spalding was relieved to learn that Greene was not inclined to reprove him for building the mills.

SPALDING VISITS WALKER AND EELLS

Spalding felt as though he and his wife were alone. He needed a friend. There were at that time no other white people living at Lapwai besides the Spalding family, so Spalding decided to visit his co-workers at Tshimakain and show them the letter that Greene had sent. Accordingly, he and his family set out for the homes of Walker and Eells, and arrived there on September 7.

Spalding was not sure how Walker and Eells would receive them, and, although their coming was unexpected, found that their co-workers extended every possible favor to make their stay both comfortable and pleasant. Spalding showed them the letters he had received. To his joy he found both Walker and Eells sympathetic listeners. They had sent in no letters of complaint about Spalding or anyone else. On March 1, 1842, Eells wrote to Greene, saying:

For the benefit of their health, Mr. Spalding and family paid us a visit last fall. There arrived here in Sept. bringing the letter which you designed as general for the mission. I am ashamed and confounded that things exist in this mission which justly merit such reproof as the letter contains. I am also much pained on account of the communications which have been sent you relating to this subject. There is too much reason [to] believe that they have not been written with a right spirit.²³

While at Tshimakain, the Spaldings rode to Fort Colville and called on Archibald McDonald, the factor in

²¹ I was unable to locate a copy of this letter.—C.M.D.

²² The original is in Coll. W.

²³ Eells to Greene, March 1, 1842. Coll. A.

charge. Spalding's Diary for September 10 makes significant mention of the arrival of a party of immigrants from the Red River. More than twenty years later, Spalding got his dates mixed and had this party arrive in 1842, whereas they actually arrived in 1841. This was a point which he used to bolster his statement that one of the main reasons why Whitman made his famous ride east in 1842 was to save Oregon. The Red River immigration had nothing to do with Whitman's ride.

The Spaldings thoroughly enjoyed their visit at Tshimakain. They arrived back at their home on September 24.²⁴ During the month of October, Eells and Spalding visited Waiilatpu to show the letter from Greene to Whitman and Gray. Of that visit Whitman wrote:

He Spalding was here a number of days with Mr. Eells, and left a few days since. He has again expressed a full desire to be reconciled to all in the Mission, but as Mrs. Spalding was not present, and not wishing to make a reconciliation to be soon broken or of partial understanding, we did not go any further than to agree, to act as being under covenant relations.²⁵

MISSION ACTIVITIES AT LAPWAI

When the Spaldings returned from the mission meeting held at Waiilatpu in June, 1841, they brought with them a mission barrel, which the Allens of Kinsman, Ohio, had sent. It was packed on a mule, with a large box on the other side to balance it. Spalding was delighted to get the barrel, not only for the goods it contained, but also for the barrel itself. In writing to Allen to thank him for the goods received, Spalding suggested that the next time the Allens sent anything to send another barrel "made strong and iron bound." Speaking of this first barrel, Spalding wrote to Allen on February 18, 1842, saying: "It now contains our beef. We need another for pork. We had nothing but small kegs and they usually leaked."²⁶

²⁴ Mrs. Spalding wrote her "thank you" letter to Mrs. Eells and Mrs. Walker on Sept. 25. Spalding letter No. 41.

²⁵ Whitman to Greene, Oct. 22, 1841. Quoted by Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 109 ff.

²⁶ Spalding letter No. 44. Warren, *Memoirs*, pp. 72 ff. contains an imperfect copy.

The barrel contained a letter from the Allens.²⁷ In replying on February 18, 1842, Spalding made out a list of things that he needed. He mentioned articles of clothing: "I require a shoe 11 inches, Mrs. S. 10½ inches." He asked for a dress for Mrs. Spalding, "28 inches around the waist." Also for:

... fruit seeds, pen knife or two—candle sticks, compass ... a few hair and side-combs for Mrs. Spalding and Eliza ... a wooden water pail, good razor, strop with lather-box and brush. Palm leaf hats for myself and little boy. Bonnets for Mrs. S. and Eliza ... a small looking glass.

Allen had requested some articles the Indians had made. Spalding promised to send him a box of "Indian clothing and implements" by the fall of that year.²⁸ The goods were sent, and are now owned by Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. They are, undoubtedly, the best assortment of old Nez Perce articles in existence today.

A few days before writing to the Allens, Spalding wrote to Greene. These two letters sum up very well the activities and progress of the mission work at Lapwai.

Spalding was encouraged with the advance the Indians were making in the school. The attendance had averaged "about 85, including a class of ten adults, six of whom are chiefs & principal men." Mrs. Spalding remained in charge of the school, being assisted by four native children who lived in the Spalding home. The school assembled early and continued until after sunset.

A new schoolhouse was built during the summer of 1841, which measured twenty-one by seventeen feet, and which was ready for use in October. This was not a log building, but thanks to the sawmill, was built out of boards. Mrs. Spalding proudly wrote to her friend, Mrs. A. T. Smith, then of Tualatin Plains, Oregon, and boasted of the building. She described it as follows:

²⁷ Original in Coll. W.

²⁸ For a description of the collection see *The Oberlin Alumni Magazine*, Feb., 1930, pp. 136 ff. It appears that the collection was not actually sent until 1846. There may have been several shipments.

The frame is of sawed timber, the covering is of boards match. Three, 12 light windows, a writing desk extends across one side, a stove in the center, and daily it is well filled with interesting learners.²⁹

Mrs. Spalding called the roll of the adult class for Mrs. Smith's benefit: "Joseph, Timothy, Luke, Lawyer, Stephen, Jason, Five Crows³⁰ (Joseph's brother) Hezekiah, Lot (Conner's father-in-law), Mary (Jacob's wife)."

During the winter of 1841-42, Spalding translated the first ten chapters of Matthew. The flour mill was then in use, and Spalding spoke of the satisfaction he had in seeing the Indians come to the mill "with their horse loads of grain, the fruits of their own industry."³¹

Spalding spent considerable time that winter studying the language. He had Lawyer for his teacher, and gave the chief a young heifer for his services. In Spalding's letter to Allen of February 18, 1842, he enumerates the multiplicity of duties which were thrust upon him:

I have just now two white men repairing my saw mill, putting a gig wheel, and down new way boards, and a Canadian is at work at my house. The whole work is to be laid out by myself, and very minute directions given very frequently, as they are not at all acquainted with work of this kind, with the daily cares of the station to look after, and perhaps while writing one line I should be obliged to drop my pen four or five times and run to the mill or here or there to give directions . . . You may ask why I took this hurried time. Be assured that it is a period of comparative leisure.

During the summer of 1841, Spalding had constructed a large storehouse and granary, thirty by eighteen, with a weaving-room at one end. The Board had sent out some weaving equipment which arrived late that summer. He himself had helped construct the loom, the pioneer loom for the state of Idaho. Another "first" must be added to Spalding's enviable record.

²⁹ Spalding letter No. 42a.

³⁰ *Ibid.* Mrs. Spalding also refers to Five Crows or Hezekiah as a "half-brother of Joseph."

³¹ Spalding letter No. 44. Also: "I more than forget the hardships and perplexities in the satisfaction of seeing the people coming to the mill with their horses loaded with grain, the fruits of their own industry."

Spalding did not mention in these letters another important activity which is revealed in his Diary. In February, he wrote about his apple trees, and mentioned for the first time for several years Tack-en-su-a-tis, in the following entry:

21. Set out 16 ap. trees belonging to old Tackiensuatas.

And again for the 23rd:

I sent 50 apple trees [to Wailatpu].

Some of those apple trees which Spalding himself set out or gave to the Indians are claimed to have remained standing as late as 1925, and one as late as 1930.³²

In Spalding's letter to Allen, he makes mention of one incident which is of interest. Spalding had reproved two young men for gambling, who, in their resentment, had tried to set Spalding's house afire. "After our prayer meeting," wrote Spalding, "purpose to whip him but some of his friends help him out. he escapes by plunging in the R."

On the 25th of August, Mr. and Mrs. A. T. Smith left Lapwai for the Willamette. The Spaldings regretted to see them go. With two of the independent missionary families, the Griffins and the A. T. Smiths, the Spaldings formed lifelong friendships.

In October, 1841, Spalding held another protracted series of meetings, when some two thousand Indians were present. Timothy and Joseph were of great aid to him. Whitman visited Spalding in December, at which time Spalding wanted to receive some more Indians into the church. He was satisfied as to their Christian knowledge and experience, but Whitman was unwilling. Perhaps Whitman remembered the vote of the mission which forbade such action without the vote of the mission. On the other hand, it appears from the following record in Spalding's Diary, that there were other reasons:

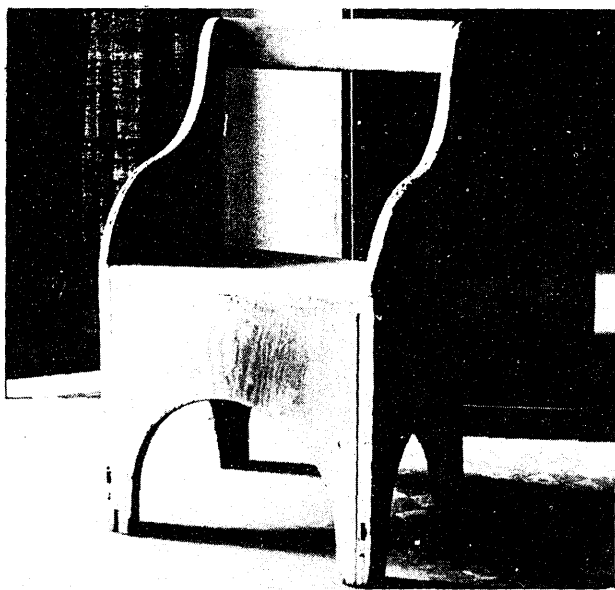
³² An apple tree, claimed to have been planted by Red Wolf at Alpowa, about twelve miles west of Lewiston, was blown down about 1930. It is claimed that the tree was raised from a seed given by Spalding. A second growth about ten feet high had sprung up when I examined it in November, 1934.—C.M.D.

Planted by Rev. H. H. Spalding on the old mission site. View faces the northwest and was taken about 1910. The tree remained standing until 1925.

By courtesy of Eula Greene Miller, Juliaetta, Idaho.



THE LAST OF THE APPLE TREES.



A SPALDING CHAIR

During the years 1905-1909, Mrs. T. O. Greene taught school at Spalding, Idaho. During that time she came into the possession of the above-pictured chair, which "Old Jim Moses," an old Indian resident of Spalding, claimed was one of Spalding's chairs. Two other old Indians confirmed the identification. About 1910 the chair was presented by

Mrs. Greene to the Idaho Historical Society at Boise.

Picture and information by courtesy of Mrs. Greene's daughter, Eula Greene Miller, Juliaetta, Idaho.



He read over a long list of charges against me many of which were true & for which I told him I was willing & anxious to make any concessions or do anything he wished if he would lett me know his wish as most of them had been often rehearsed & I as often intended to acknowledge my faults, but though he did not directly say what he wanted still he gave us plainly to understand that nothing short of excission from the Mission would satisfy him & Mr. Gray. Many of the charges were facts perverted, And many of them were direct falsehoods got up by some body.³³

Whitman refused to receive the natives into the church until his difficulties with Spalding were settled, and so they were not then received. When Spalding wrote to Greene the following February, he made no mention of the quarrel. He wrote about that only in his Diary. One cannot help but feel that Whitman had a resentful nature. He could not forget his wrongs, fancied or real. Perhaps he was having too much contact with Gray, who was then living at Wailatpu.

SPALDING IS DISMISSED

When Spalding wrote to Greene on February 15, 1842, he had this to say about the difficulties within the mission:

As to difficulties in this mission . . . The reason of my not reffering to it in my last was the hope that the breach as you most reasonably & earnestly desire, might soon be healed—but I can not say that it is well with us yet—I see no reason why it should not be & still hope it will soon be.

On that very day the Prudential Committee of the American Board met in Boston and remained in session until the 23rd. Before they adjourned the following action was taken regarding the Oregon mission:

Resolved, that the Rev. Henry H. Spalding be recalled, with instructions to return by the first direct and suitable opportunity; that Mr. William H. Gray be advised to return home, and also the Rev. Asa B. Smith, on account of the illness of his wife; that Dr. Marcus Whitman and Mr. Cornelius Rogers be designated to the northern branch of the mission; [i. e. Lapwai] and that the two last named be authorized to dispose of the mission property in the southern branch of the mission.³⁴

³³ Spalding Diary, Dec. 3, 1841.

³⁴ Mowry, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 117.

It was the receipt of this drastic order in Oregon that caused Whitman to call the special meeting of the mission which met at Wailatpu on September 26. And it was the receipt of this order which prompted Whitman to ride east.

At the very time the committee was meeting in Boston going over the mass of complaining material sent in by members of the Oregon mission, Spalding was busy at Lapwai doing the best piece of missionary work in the whole mission. Smith and Rogers had already resigned. Walker and Eells lived nine years at Tshimakain without having a single convert. Spalding, being an ordained man, was able to do some things which Whitman was not. Whitman did a fine piece of medical work, and incidentally his home became an important way-station for hundreds of immigrants on their way to Oregon. But as far as the objective of the American Board was concerned, to civilize and Christianize the natives, no one had greater success than Spalding.

And yet, the Board, acting upon the best information they had, and with due deliberation but without giving Spalding a chance to reply, dismissed from their service their most effective worker in Oregon.

SPALDING ENDEAVORS TO SETTLE THE DIFFICULTIES

Soon after writing his letter of February 15 to Greene, Spalding made another effort to settle his difficulties with Whitman and the other members of the mission. He wrote out letters of confession to Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, Mr. and Mrs. Gray, Mr. and Mrs. Walker, Mr. and Mrs. Eells, and even to Mr. Rogers, in which he begged their forgiveness for all that he had done which was wrong. "I trust by the grace of God," he wrote on February 23 in his Diary, "I humbly repent of my sins against these brethren and sisters. That I have sinned against and before God I feel conscious."

Spalding did not continue his Diary all through the year 1842, but closed with the entry for April 22. He continued it again for about one month, February, 1843. Unfortunately for our study, Spalding's Diary does not cover the rest of 1842. The only diary or journal of any

of the missionaries covering all of 1842 is that of Elkanah Walker.³⁵ For our source material for the events of 1842, we are therefore obliged to fall back upon the correspondence of the missionaries, the minutes of the mission meetings, and Walker's Diary.

THE 1842 MISSION MEETING

On May 12, 1842, Whitman and Gray wrote a joint letter to Greene, in which they mentioned the fact that the mission was to hold its next meeting on the 16th of May. They said that Spalding had already notified them that he would not attend, and also that he refused to attend a proposed meeting during the winter when it was hoped their difficulties would be settled for all time.

The mission meeting was held according to schedule at Waiilatpu, with Walker as Moderator and Eells as Scribe. Spalding was not present. He sent in a letter explaining why he refrained from attending.³⁶ The members present saw fit to consider the reasons given as insufficient, and sent a messenger to Lapwai to request his immediate attendance. He was "requested" to be present at Waiilatpu on or before May 30. Spalding appeared on Thursday, May 26. With all present, the mission resumed its meetings the next day.

Greene's letters of November, 1840, and March, 1841, were read and a committee consisting of Walker, Eells, and Spalding, was appointed to reply. On that day the mission resolved itself into a committee of the whole with Eells in the chair and commenced a systematic discussion of every possible point of friction. According to the letter of the committee sent to the Board on June 8, the following was the method of procedure:

The first question which was decided was that there were difficulties in the Mission.

³⁵ The original of Walker's Diary, *without 1842*, is in the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. A copy of the Diary was made, including 1842, before the Huntington Library secured it. One of these copies is in the Spokane Public Library, and another is in the Library of the University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. The original pages for 1842 were discovered in February, 1935, in the files of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Ore.

³⁶ I was unable to find the original, or a copy.—C.M.D.

The next was what were these difficulties.

To answer this question each one was requested to state in writing what he considered them to be. After this each one was called upon to give specifications showing the existence of these difficulties.⁸⁷

Walker in his Diary stated that the whole afternoon was spent by each writing out what he thought the difficulties were. After discovering what was wrong, the next question considered was: "What stood in the way of a reconciliation?" And again everyone present wrote out his answer. Walker wrote for Tuesday, May 31:

Had a hard session to day and there was so much bad feeling manifested that I said that I thought it was an abomination for us to meet to pray. We had no session this afternoon.

The next day Walker and Eells took a long ride in the rain. Walker wrote: "Mr. Eells and I . . . felt that all hope was gone." On Thursday, the missionaries frankly faced the consequences if they were not able to reconcile their differences. "I felt much and said considerable," wrote Walker, "and I hope that it was not in vain. I think that there was a better state of feeling than there had been any time since the session began, and I felt quite confident that a settlement would be made."

On Friday, Walker wrote: "I have been much moved by some threats the Doctor made that if he was not allowed to pursue his own course he would leave the Mission. The Doctor asked to be allowed to go on his own way with out being checked." This seems to be evidence that Whitman had his own set ideas as well as Spalding.⁸⁸ Walker confessed in his Diary that he could hardly sleep that night. He was afraid of Whitman's threat and could not see any way out of their difficulties. The next day he mounted his horse and took another ride. While he was absent, Whitman and Spalding had a frank

⁸⁷ Joint letter of Walker, Eells, and Spalding to Greene, June 8, 1842. Coll. A.

⁸⁸ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 113, writes that Walker was "the most thoroughly straight forward man in the Mission" and that Walker believed: "that most of the blame for the troubles of the Mission rested on Whitman."

talk, with good results. The afternoon session of June 4 was more promising.

The joint letter of the committee sums up the results of the meeting.

We may state that there was a very full investigation which occupied the meeting eight days, and we are happy to say that difficulties have been met and settled in a Christian manner, and we feel that we now have reason to hope for permanent peace and harmony.

We verily believe the Lord was with us and granted us grace to repent where we had done wrong, and to forgive where [we] had been grieved.

It was the unanimous opinion at the close of the investigation that, should the Prudential Committee have taken any action on any communication yet unanswered, that the Mission ought to wait until this communication can be answered.

That last paragraph proved to be of utmost importance to Spalding. Gray made a motion that Whitman and Spalding exchange stations "till circumstances shall warrant a return." The motion carried. Soon after Spalding's return to Lapwai, some white men, living in that vicinity, made some threats which caused all but Gray to feel that a change of stations was not advisable. Gray felt that the provisions of the motion should have been carried out "even if the life of Dr. Whitman should be endangered." He expressed his regret that he was connected with a mission which did not have the courage to carry out its own vote.³⁹

There must have been an uneasy feeling in the mission during the summer of 1842 as the missionaries waited for the letter which they felt would surely come from Greene. What would the Board do? Surely this accounted for the action taken whereby the mission would not accept any order from the Board until the Board had received word that all difficulties had been settled at the June, 1842, meeting.

ARRIVAL OF THE ORDER

In the fall of 1841, twenty-four emigrants, including two families with small children, arrived in Oregon.⁴⁰

³⁹ Eells to Greene, Oct. 3, 1842. Coll. A.

⁴⁰ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 139.

They were the advance guard of a great host that moved across the plains and over the mountains to establish homes in Oregon.

The first large migration took place in 1842 with Dr. Elijah White as the leader. Dr. White had been a medical missionary with the Methodist mission in the Willamette Valley from 1838 to 1840. The American Board mission in Oregon was not alone in having internal difficulties, for the Methodists suffered from similar internal dissensions.⁴¹ Due to a difference of opinion with Jason Lee, head of the Methodist mission, White resigned in 1840 and returned to the States. He there secured his appointment as Indian Agent for Oregon, being the first to hold such a position. Armed with the proper credentials, he returned to Oregon in 1842, much to the dismay of some members of the Methodist mission. He held the office of Indian Agent until 1845.⁴²

White started from the States with a party of one hundred and twelve people and eighteen wagons. None of these wagons got farther than Fort Hall. The remainder of the journey was made on horseback. The party reached Waiilatpu on September 14 and 15. Dr. White carried the fateful and expected letter from Greene. Gray was absent at the time, for he had again determined to resign from the mission, and was then in the Willamette Valley, making arrangements to move his family there. Whitman at once sent word to Walker, Eells, and Spalding, calling for a meeting of the mission at Waiilatpu.

The entry in Walker's Diary for Tuesday, September 20 includes the following:

Just as we were about to sit down to breakfast the long looked for express came, with some letters from the Doctor and Mr. Greene. It was stated in Mr. Greene's letter that it was decided that the southern part of this Mission was to be given up . . . The Doctor requested us to come down immediately. . . .

⁴¹ Jason Lee himself was dismissed in 1843.

⁴² Allen, *Ten Years in Oregon*, and Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 275.

Walker and Eells left that day.⁴³ Saturday night found them within a half a day's journey of their destination, but rather than travel on the Sabbath, they remained camped until Monday morning—a striking bit of evidence showing the importance the missionaries placed on Sabbath observance. Not even the urgent nature of that journey was sufficient to make them travel on Sunday.

Spalding undoubtedly expected a letter of reproof from Greene, but there is no indication that he was prepared for the drastic order which arrived.⁴⁴ "I need not say," Spalding wrote to his friend A. T. Smith, "that we (myself and wife) were greatly astonished to received this call from the Board, who I believe to be the best of men, before they gave us an opportunity to speak for ourselves or without even letting me know what accusations have been brought against me." Spalding felt that "base misrepresentations" had been made to the Board concerning him. The Board's letter gave the following reason for their order:

... as your views and proceedings in respect to the missionary work are so unlike theirs, and what they suppose those of the Board to be, and in their estimation suited to hinder the progress of Christianity in that quarter and bring reproach upon it.

Spalding was willing to let "the inhabitants of this country . . . say to the civilized world whether my policy tends to hinder Christianity or not."⁴⁵

GRAY LEAVES THE MISSION

The special meeting of the mission opened Monday evening, September 26, 1842, when the letters from

⁴³ Crawford, Journal, entry for Sept. 20, 1842, indicates that the Crawford party overtook Mr. and Mrs. Spalding "at noon." There is no evidence to show what the Spaldings were doing below Walla Walla at that time. On the 21st the Spaldings turned back "in consequence of some intelligence from Mr. Gray."

⁴⁴ Greene to Spalding, Feb. 26, 1842, Coll. A. "The Committee, . . . have voted to recall you, expecting that you will return to the United States by the earliest opportunity. . . . The Committee would, of course, much prefer, if the circumstances of your family will admit of it, that you should return by the mountain route, as you entered the Oregon country."

⁴⁵ Spalding letter No. 46.

Greene were read, and the letter the committee had sent to Greene, dated June 8, 1842. The mission then turned its attention to Gray's case. Gray presented his resignation and informed the brethren that he had secured a position with the Methodists in the Willamette Valley, and moved that his resignation be accepted. Whitman seconded the motion. Eells and Spalding voted against it, thus making the vote a tie. Walker, as Moderator, cast the deciding vote with the opposition. How strange! We should have thought that Spalding especially would have been delighted to see Gray go. But such was not the case. He placed the interests of the mission above his own personal interests, and showed real regret when any member, including Smith, left.

Two days later the mission reconsidered its vote regarding Gray's resignation and apparently with unanimous consent adopted the following:

Resolved, that we approve of the withdrawal and removal of Mr. W. H. Gray and wife from this Mission, in order to become the Secular Agent of and General Superintendent of the Oregon Institute, to be located in the Willamette Valley, as set forth in a prospectus for the same.

This was signed by Whitman, Spalding, Walker, and Eells, the four remaining members of the mission. Thus ended Gray's connection with the Oregon mission of the American Board.

Gray settled in the Willamette Valley and took an active and sometimes a stormy part in the political and religious affairs of the then rapidly developing commonwealth of Oregon. In 1870, he published his *History of Oregon*. In that same year he and his wife went east for a visit. Mrs. Gray and Mrs. A. B. Smith were the only ones of the missionary women of this band who ever went back. Gray died November 4, 1889, at the age of seventy-nine years. His wife passed away December 8, 1891. Their bodies were later moved to Wailatpu, where they lie buried beside the Whitmans.

WHITMAN LEAVES FOR BOSTON

After dealing with Gray's case, the missionaries turned their attention to Spalding and the Board's order.

They felt that the object of Greene's order had been settled by the reconciliation of the previous June. "We hardly knew what course to pursue," wrote Eells to Greene, "and concluded to wait until we could receive an answer to the [letter of] the Committee." After much discussion and without coming to any definite conclusion, Walker, Eells, and Spalding decided to return home.

On Wednesday, September 28, Walker wrote in his Diary:

Rose this morning with the determination to leave and found Mr. Spalding had the same view and was making preparations to leave as he felt that nothing could be done. At breakfast the Doctor let out what was his plan in view of the state of things. We persuaded them to get together and talk matters over.

I think they felt some better afterwards. Then the question was submitted to us of the Doctor's going home, which we felt that it was one of too much importance to be decided in a moment, but finally came to the conclusion that if he could put things in such a state that it would be safe we could consent to his going, and with that left them and made a start for home.⁴⁶

Eells, in his letter to Greene of October 3, stated that the proposition of Whitman's going east was presented on the very eve of their departure, and that at first he and Walker could give no definite answer. They wanted time to think it over, and promised to send back their answer.⁴⁷ Whitman, however, was urgent, and induced them to sign the following resolution, which bears the date of September 28, 1842:

Resolved, that if arrangements can be made, to continue the operations of this station that Dr. Whitman be at liberty and advised to visit the United States as soon as practicable, to confer with the committee of the A.B.C.F.M. in regards to the interests of this Mission.

E. Walker, Moderator
Cushing Eells, Scribe
H. H. Spalding⁴⁸

⁴⁶ This part was published in Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 129.

⁴⁷ Eells to Greene, Oct. 3, 1842. Eells did not approve of the hasty manner in which this important question was decided.

⁴⁸ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 128. Whitman carried this order with him. Greene noted on it, "Recd. March 30, 1843, D. G.," which gives us the date of Whitman's arrival in Boston.

Walker and Eells left Wailatpu with the understanding that they were to write letters to Greene, which Whitman was to take with him. Each wrote under date of October 3, although Walker states in his Diary that he did not finish his letter until the 10th. The letters were sent to Wailatpu with the full expectation that they would be taken east. To the surprise of Walker and Eells, the letters missed Dr. Whitman, and had to be sent by ship. Whitman had become impatient and had started east on October 3. From Mrs. Whitman's letter written September 29, it is clear that on that day Whitman had resolved to leave by Monday, October 3. Hence, it appears that Whitman decided soon after his associates left for their respective stations, to leave before the agreed-upon date. Mrs. Spalding wrote: "Doct. W. left sooner than was expected & disappointed the whole mission about taking letters."⁴⁹ It was not until November 1 that Walker and Eells learned that Whitman had left on the 3rd of October.

THE WHITMAN-MAILED-OREGON STORY

Much has been written about the cause and the results of Whitman's well-known ride to the States in the winter of 1842-43. Spalding, Eells, Gray, and others who have accepted their interpretation, have claimed that Whitman rode east to save Oregon for the United States. Walker never expressed himself on this subject.

The first time the Whitman-mailed-Oregon idea was published was in 1864 (although the germ of the story is found in unpublished material of an earlier date), twenty-two years after the ride took place. Much had happened in those twenty-two years of great political significance for Oregon. Some magnified the results of

⁴⁹ Spalding letter No. 52. Fred Lockley, journalist and book dealer of Portland, Ore., wrote to me Jan. 2, 1935: "About a year or so ago while checking over some old missionary correspondence between Alvin T. Smith . . . and Rev. H. H. Spalding my stenographer and I commented on the fact that one of the letters referred to the fact that Rev. H. H. Spalding had written to Mrs. Whitman asking her to intercede with her husband to take the matter up with the American Board . . . not to recall Rev. Spalding." The original, if in existence, could not be located.—C.M.D.

Whitman's ride, especially his connection with the 1843 emigration, and then it was easy to make exaggerated claims for the cause of the ride. The simple truth is that the theory that Whitman rode to save Oregon evolved. It evolved as did the "lament" attributed to one of the Nez Perces who visited St. Louis in the fall of 1831, and in the evolution of both stories, Spalding played an important part.

Spalding was the first to give publicity to the attractive theory that Whitman rode to save Oregon. In a lecture published in the *Sacramento Union*, of October 19, 1865, Spalding said:

The peculiar event that aroused Dr. Whitman and sent him through the mountains of New Mexico, during that terrible winter of 1843, to Washington, just in time to save this now so valuable country from being traded off by Webster to the shrewd Englishman for a "cod fishery" down east, was as follows: In October of 1842 our mission was called together, on business, at Wailatpu—Dr. Whitman's station—and while in session, Dr. W. was called to Fort Walla Walla to visit a sick man. While there the "brigade" for New Caledonia, fifteen bateaux, arrived at that point, on their way up the Columbia. . . . They were accompanied by some twenty chief factors, traders and clerks. . . .

While this great company were at dinner, an express arrived from Fort Colville, announcing the (to them) glad news that the colony from Red River had passed the Rocky Mountains and were near Colville. An exclamation of joy burst from the whole table, at first unaccountable to Doctor Whitman, till a young priest, perhaps not so discreet as the older, and not thinking that there was an American at the table, sprang to his feet, and swinging his hand exclaimed: "Hurrah for Columbia! (Oregon) America is too late; we have got the country." In an instant, as by instinct, Dr. Whitman saw through the whole plan, clear to Washington, Fort Hall, and all.⁵⁰

According to Spalding's account, Whitman excused himself and left at once for his station, and arrived there on a horse "white with foam." This whole story has been proved to be false. Spalding himself in his Diary for September 10, 1841, recorded the arrival of the Red River colony, a year before the momentous meeting of 1842. Archibald McKinlay, a Presbyterian, who suc-

⁵⁰ See also *Senate Ex. Doc.* No. 37, 41st Congress, p. 20, which contains a reprint of the article.

ceeded Pambrun at Fort Walla Walla, also denied the story.⁵¹ The express did not reach the Fort in the fall of 1842 until October 27. No such dinner party as Spalding described was ever held.

Spalding very naturally said nothing about the Board's order which dismissed him and which was the main cause for Whitman's going east. Human nature does not shout unpleasant facts like that from the house-tops. It was true that Whitman wanted to bring out reënforcements. He and his associates realized that each year would bring out more emigrants for Oregon. Why not induce some good pious men to settle in the vicinity of the mission stations and relieve the missionaries of some of their burdens, thus giving them more time for their specialized duties? It is quite possible that Whitman had planned to visit Washington before he left Waiilatpu, but as far as contemporary evidence is concerned, the primary cause for his trip was the Board's disastrous order of February, 1842. Even though the mission had voted to keep the *status quo* until the Board learned of the action taken in the mission meeting of June, 1842, yet it seems that none had expected just such a drastic step as the Board had taken.

In the very significant comment made on the cause of Whitman's ride by Mrs. Spalding, we read:

Doct W's object is to either get this mission reinforced or to obtain settlers to come & establish a colony.⁵²

Herein we find Mrs. Spalding ascribing two motives to Whitman. The first, "to get this mission reinforced," could have included the idea of having the Board rescind the order dismissing her husband, while the second, "to obtain settlers," referred to one of the most cherished dreams of the missionaries.

Whitman knew before he left Oregon that there was to be an emigration to Oregon in 1843 and definitely

⁵¹ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 84.

⁵² Spalding letter No. 52. This letter throws new light upon this disputed question because it contains the only known comment of Mrs. Spalding about the cause of Whitman's ride.

planned to return with it.⁵³ Spalding, Gray, and Myron Eells⁵⁴ (son of Cushing Eells), Barrows, Mowry, Nixon, Craighead, and others have popularized the story of Whitman's riding to save Oregon.⁵⁵ As far as contemporary evidence is concerned, not one document has been produced which shows that Whitman or any of the members of the mission then dreamed of any political significance involved in the journey.

Whitman rode on mission business! He rode to save Spalding! He rode to save his own station, Wailatpu! He rode to save the mission for many years of usefulness, not only for the Indians, but for the emigrants as well. Incidentally, Whitman became an important figure in the forging of one link which bound Oregon to the United States, but this is another story which will be told at another time.⁵⁶

⁵³ Whitman to Greene, May 12, 1842: "There will probably be a large party of emigrants coming to this country in the spring of 1843."

⁵⁴ Eells, *The Whitman Legend*, p. 30, gives a conservative view of the cause for Whitman's ride although elsewhere he emphasizes the political motive. Eells wrote: "The writer lastly agrees that two reasons why the Doctor went east were to secure the rescinding of the order of the Board to discontinue his station and that of Mr. Spalding, and also to obtain a number of Christian families to settle near the mission stations . . ."

⁵⁵ This whole subject has been elaborately treated by Marshall in his two-volume work, *Acquisition of Oregon*. Marshall maintains that Whitman rode on mission business.

⁵⁶ A more detailed study of the effects of Whitman's ride will be set forth in my forthcoming book on Marcus Whitman.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SPALDING CARRIES ON

WHITMAN started east on Tuesday, October 3, 1842, with A. L. Lovejoy, who had gone out to Oregon with Elijah White in the emigration of 1842. The two men reached Fort Hall, about five hundred and thirty miles distant from Wailatpu, on October 18. Even though pressed for time, Whitman insisted on resting on the two Sabbaths while *en route* to Fort Hall.¹ The fact that the men covered on the average more than forty miles a day is eloquent evidence of Whitman's anxiety regarding his plan to cross the mountains that winter.

At Fort Hall they learned of Indian wars along the route of their intended journey and were thus obliged to make a thousand-mile detour via Santa Fe. After enduring much hardship, Whitman reached Westport, Missouri the latter part of February. He pushed eastward as rapidly as traveling conditions permitted, undoubtedly visiting Washington *en route* to Boston. He is known to have reached Boston on March 30, 1843.

ORDER RESCINDED

The fateful order dismissing Spalding and making other changes in the Oregon mission was issued February 25, 1842. On April 28, 1842, Greene again wrote to Spalding and Whitman, rescinding the order of the previous February and authorizing the men to continue their work in their respective stations.² In Greene's letter to Whitman we read:

¹ Nixon, *op. cit.*, p. 121, quotes Lovejoy as saying that Whitman traveled but once on a Sunday on this journey, and then at a later stage.

² It appears that Greene's letters of April 28, 1842, have heretofore escaped the attention of Whitman students. I discovered copies in the Board files in July, 1935.—C.M.D.

When the case of your mission came up in February it seemed to be a perfectly clear case that the Committee should decide upon it as mentioned in my letters to yourself and the mission written about the first of March . . . and which, I presume, you will have received before this reaches you. But had your letter of the 13th of July and Mr. Spaldings of the same date, 1841, been before the Com. they would almost necessarily decided differently . . .

Greene authorized Whitman and Spalding to continue in their respective stations until further word was received. In all probability the whole affair could have been straightened out to the satisfaction of all without the necessity of Whitman's trip east. This may account for the coolness with which Whitman was received by Greene at Boston.³

On March 21 the Prudential Committee of the Board met and reviewed the letter of June 8, 1842, signed by Walker, Eells, and Spalding. The Committee, however, did not then see fit to adopt any new action or to make any change in Greene's letters of April 28, 1842. In effect, they approved the action taken to rescind the fateful order of February, 1842. A few days later Whitman arrived to make his personal plea for that which had already been accomplished.

On April 4 Whitman submitted a written statement to the Committee, and appeared in person to present his story. Regarding Spalding, he wrote:

The difficulties between Mr. Spalding & the others was apparently healed, & Mr. S promises to pursue a different course. The Mission wish to make another trial, with Mr. Smith & Mr. Gray out of the mission.

Rev. H. H. Spalding requests that he may be allowed to remain in the mission, in which request the other brethren unite.⁴

Whitman's personal intercession undoubtedly threw much new light upon the situation and confirmed the Board in the action of April 28 of the previous year. So the matter stood. Spalding was not to be recalled, and Whitman was not to be moved from his beloved Wailatpu. In the report of the Committee we read:

³ Whitman to Greene, April 1, 1847: "I often reflect upon the fact that you told me you were sorry I came." Coll. A.

⁴ Whitman to Greene, April 4, 1843. Coll. A.

Such were the communications from the mission and the representations of Doctor Whitman, that the Committee . . . authorized them to continue their labors at the stations . . . as heretofore. Mr. and Mrs. Spalding were authorized to continue their labors at Clearwater.

Gray's resignation was accepted. The Committee favored the appointment of another missionary to the Oregon mission, but such an appointment was never made.⁵ Whitman presented his plan of having "a small company of intelligent and pious laymen" go back to Oregon with him and settle in the vicinity of the mission stations. The Committee approved the idea, but let Whitman understand that it would appropriate no funds for such a purpose.

Following Whitman's visit to Boston, he probably went at once to his home in western New York. After visiting relatives and friends, he started back to Oregon, taking with him his thirteen-year-old nephew, Perrin Whitman. These two joined the emigrants in May, 1843, shortly before the wagon train left the frontier. Whitman rendered much valuable service to the members of this emigration, serving as the acknowledged guide from Fort Hall to Fort Walla Walla.

MRS. SPALDING'S ILLNESS

Dr. Whitman's departure made certain readjustments necessary at Waiilatpu. Mrs. Whitman was willing to remain at the station, provided someone could be found to stay with her, but at first they were unsuccessful in this. A few days after Whitman left, an Indian tried to break into Mrs. Whitman's room in the night.⁶ She was so frightened and alarmed that she went to Fort Walla Walla, and later went to live with some of the Methodist missionaries at The Dalles.

Spalding was notified of developments, and he went down to Waiilatpu about the middle of October to com-

⁵ The Board sent out reinforcements for the Oregon mission in November, 1840, consisting of Rev. and Mrs. J. D. Paris, and Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Rice. They went by sea and when they reached the Sandwich Islands, were persuaded to remain there.

⁶ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 163.

plete some projects that Whitman had started. A young man by the name of William Geiger was then secured to live at Waiilatpu and take care of the property.

Spalding was at Waiilatpu more than a week when a messenger arrived from Lapwai with a note from Mrs. Spalding. It was written in a trembling hand and told of a severe hemorrhage. The thought of his wife's being alone under such conditions, without any aid but that which the natives might give, was too much for Spalding. He fainted before he read the whole note. After recovering, he made immediate preparation for his departure. He gave some hasty directions regarding matters at Waiilatpu, and after selecting four of his strongest horses and an Indian guide, he set out for his home. They left Waiilatpu about nine o'clock at night. It was dark and rainy. "Oh those hours!" wrote Spalding to Greene. "Death only can blot them from my memory—Must my dear wife die alone & her last moments embittered & hastened on with the indescribable thought of having no civilized being with whom to leave her two little children till the return of their father & this seemingly for the want of some one to administer timely relief." A former experience only heightened his anxiety.

By break of day, they had covered sixty-five miles. Once they stopped for food. They reached Lapwai before sundown, and to Spalding's great relief he found his wife still alive, and resting as comfortably as could be expected. He and his Indian companion had ridden the one hundred and twenty miles in nineteen hours.⁷ It was a remarkable ride! One has but to motor through that country today, and notice the hills and valleys and streams that had to be crossed, to wonder how it was possible for man and beast to do it.

SPALDING'S DEFENSE

As would have been expected, Spalding sent in a letter to the Board after the order came dismissing him. This letter was dated October 15, 1842. "It seems that as yet," he wrote, "the committee have received but one

⁷ See Spalding letters Nos. 50 and 65.

side of the question." That was true. In this letter Spalding distinguished between the difficulties which arose out of personalities, and those which arose out of differences of opinion regarding the right mission policy.

In regard to some of the personal difficulties, Spalding could but guess what the others had written to Greene. He gave instances of how in the reconciliation which had taken place the previous June, some personal differences had been cleared away. Regarding the accusation that he had sought to profit personally on some of his business transactions with the Indians, Spalding replied indignantly: "Nothing is farther from the truth." He declared himself willing for the Board to examine his bills of expense with any other person of the mission. He knew that his bills had been less than any others.

In regard to mission methods, Spalding repeated his conviction about the necessity of settling the Indians. "Little good will result to a heathen mind," he declared, "which is constantly upon the chase & only hears a sermon once in 3, 9, or 12 months." How was it possible, he asked, for the missionaries to conduct efficient schools with a people who might be scattered within a few days "through the mts. & over the plains, like the dust in a whirlwind?"

After a lapse of nearly a century, we see that Spalding was absolutely right in his contentions. His was a practical Christianity, which expressed itself in teaching the natives how to plow, how to raise sheep and cattle and hogs, as well as in introducing them to a loving God.

TESTIMONY OF FRIENDS

Spalding had his friends both within and without the mission who gladly came to his defense. Walker wrote to Greene on February 28, 1843, from which letter the following is taken:

In all my intercourse with Mr. S. I never have seen anything that would lead me to think that he was opposed to the Mission . . . That he has been prudent in his labors what has been done at that station is proof that may be seen and known by all who visit it. . . . That Mr. Gray had difficulty with Mr. Spalding I do not

in the least doubt. He [Spalding] must have been a singular man not to have & that is nothing more than the rest of its mission have.

But I do not say this to justify Mr. S. in all that he has said and done for as I said before I think he has done many things that were wrong and I think he has had great provocations for [I] presume he has borne more dictation than any other member of the Mission and has had to contend with greater trials.

Walker was in favor of having Spalding remain. "I hope," he wrote to Greene, "Mr. S. will be permitted to remain in the field for if he is recalled I shall think that one of its most active members have been removed and one whose prospects for usefulness is as great as anyone in the field."⁸

Spalding's friend, A. T. Smith, wrote on November 10, 1842, to Spalding to inquire if the rumor he had heard was true. Spalding replied on December 15, and begged his friend to write to the Board in his behalf. "You know something of my trials as also my wishes," Spalding wrote, "and you know I have faults, and I know you will do me justice." Spalding had considered the possibility of the Board's being adamant and refusing to rescind the fatal order of February, 1842. The following paragraph of his letter to Smith reveals the fact that Spalding had no thought of leaving the Nez Perces:

Should you see fit to send the axe-helves, etc., I shall be much obliged to you for I have no idea of leaving this people, although I may be cut off from this mission or find it my duty to leave it. If I am not mistaken, I made my engagements touching this people with the Lord Jesus Christ, and until He gives me to understand that he has no more for me to do in this field, or that I am in the way of Christianity in this country, I think I shall not obey man. But I fully believe the Board will do the thing right.

Thomas McKay was another of Spalding's friends who wrote to the Board in his behalf. On March 28, 1843, McKay wrote, saying:

I am happy to inform you that the Mission under the care of Revd H. H. Spalding is above all Missions, in this country that is it surpasses them all, notwithstanding all what has been said against him he stands aloof like a pillar; unshaken by his opponents.

⁸ Walker to Greene, Feb. 28, 1843. Coll. A.

After describing the outstanding features of the Lapwai station, McKay takes occasion to praise Mrs. Spalding. "*She deserves a great deal of credit on her part,*" he wrote, "... And were it not for her Mr. Spalding would not be so prosperous."⁹ McKay visited the Spaldings at Lapwai in December, 1842, and wrote from personal experience. He was a member of Dr. White's party, which went to Lapwai to institute laws among the Indians.

DR. WHITE VISITS LAPWAI

Dr. Elijah White was the first Indian Agent ever appointed by the U. S. Government for the Indians west of the Rockies. His budget was limited, and his authority even more so, for he was entirely dependent upon the creation of good-will and bluff for the enforcement of his decrees. Soon after his arrival in Oregon, he felt it necessary to visit Waiilatpu and Lapwai.

On several occasions individuals had threatened members of the two stations. Mention has already been made of the Indian who tried to attack Mrs. Whitman. In a letter to Greene written January 25, 1846, Spalding reviewed some of his troubles:

I have had a gun cocked & presented at my head for 15 or 20 minutes while 4 of the principle men stood & looked on with as much indifference as if a dog were to be shot down & when the proper time arrived I rose & walked off, the muzzle of the gun brushing my cheek. At one time probably 500 people were collected threatening to go to my house tie & whip my wife & for no other reason than because she had sent to the chief of the place requesting him to send away two of his men who had just presented themselves before the school naked & painted with the most horrible figures, & continued their indecent jesture until Mrs. S. was obliged to leave the house.¹⁰

In addition to such experiences, White was informed of the fact that after Spalding had left Waiilatpu, the mill there had been burned and with it several hundred bushels of grain. Geiger was present at the time, but could do nothing to save the mill, for the fire broke out

⁹ McKay to Greene, Mar. 28, 1843. Coll. A.

¹⁰ Spalding letter No. 63. Also see his Diary for October 8, 1840, for a description of the school incident.

at night. It was felt that some disaffected Indian deliberately lighted it. This act seemed to have brought matters to a climax. White decided it was time to institute some laws among the Indians.

White secured the coöperation of Thomas McKay, and took along for his interpreters Cornelius Rogers and Baptiste Dorion.¹¹ He also took six armed men with him, in order, as he declared, "to command respect and secure the object of our undertaking." The party started from the Willamette Valley on November 15. At The Dalles, Mr. Littlejohn joined them, and at Fort Walla Walla, Mr. McKinlay. They visited the mission station at Waiilatpu on November 31 "and were shocked and pained at beholding the sad work of savage destruction upon this hitherto neat and commodious little establishment." White made an appointment to meet the Cayuse chiefs after he returned from Lapwai.

He and his party arrived at Lapwai December 3, where the Nez Perces gave him a dignified and cordial welcome. White found the Nez Perces most responsive, and his visit had a salutary effect upon them. After White outlined the object of his visit, Rogers, McKay, and McKinlay all spoke, urging the Indians to agree to some laws. Five Crows (Hezekiah) was the first to reply. "I am glad the chief has come," he said. "I have listened to what has been said; have great hopes that brighter days are before us." Then arose Bloody Chief, an old man of ninety winters, who had welcomed Lewis and Clark in 1805-6, and said:

Clarke pointed to this day, to you, and this occasion; we have long waited in expectation; sent three of our sons to Red River to prepare for it; two of them sleep with their fathers; the other is here, and can be ears, mouth, and pen for us.¹²

¹¹ Baptiste Dorion was the son of Pierre Dorion, who had been with Lewis and Clark, and an Indian woman. His father was killed by hostile Indians. His mother took her two small sons and fled with two horses, a few skins, and some dried meat. She spent the winter in the Blue Mountains. She killed the horses, smoked the meat, and made a shelter of the skins. This remarkable story is told by Irving in *Astoria*, and reprinted by Allen, *Ten Years in Oregon*, pp. 178-180.

¹² Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

Bloody Chief referred to his son, a young chief about thirty-two years old, called Ellis. In order to have some one person with whom he could deal, White designated Ellis as the head chief of the Nez Percés.¹³ White spoke appreciatively of Spalding to the Indians. "I . . . pointed to Mr. Spalding and lady," he wrote, "and told the chiefs, and all present, to look upon them as their father and mother, and treat them in all respects as such."

The following eleven laws were proposed by White and unanimously adopted:

LAWS OF THE NEZ PERCÉS

ART. 1. Whoever wilfully takes life shall be hung.

ART. 2. Whoever burns a dwelling house shall be hung.

ART. 3. Whoever burns an outbuilding shall be imprisoned six months, receive fifty lashes, and pay all damages.

ART. 4. Whoever carelessly burns a house, or any property, shall pay damages.

ART. 5. If anyone enters a dwelling, without permission of the occupant, the chiefs shall punish him as they think proper. Public rooms are excepted.

ART. 6. If any one steal he shall pay back twofold; and if it be the value of a beaver skin or less, he shall receive twenty-five lashes; and if the value is over a beaver skin he shall pay back twofold, and receive fifty lashes.

ART. 7. If any one take a horse and ride it, without permission, or take any article and use it, without liberty, he shall pay for the use of it, and receive from twenty to fifty lashes, as the chief shall direct.

ART. 8. If any one enter a field, and injure the crops, or throw down the fence, so that cattle or horses go in and do damage, he shall pay all damages, and receive twenty-five lashes for every offense.

ART. 9. Those only may keep dogs who travel or live among the game; if a dog kill a lamb, calf, or any domestic animal, the owner shall pay the damage, and kill the dog.

ART. 10. If an Indian raise a gun or other weapon against a white man, it shall be reported to the chiefs, and they shall punish him. If a white person do the same to an Indian, it shall be reported to Dr. White, and he shall redress it.

ART. 11. If an Indian break these laws, he shall be punished by his chiefs; if a white man break them, he shall be reported to the agent, and be punished at his instance.¹⁴

¹³ Ellis was killed in the buffalo country in 1848 and Lawyer chosen as his successor.

¹⁴ Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190 (Art. 4 is missing). Gray, *History of Oregon*, p. 228.

This represented the first effort to introduce law and the authority of government into Old Oregon. As we shall see, these laws were not an unmixed blessing.

WHITE'S TESTIMONY

Dr. White and his party remained at Lapwai until about the 20th of December. Spalding told White his troubles with the Board and asked White to write and tell of his observations. This he did on April 8, 1843, saying in part:

I found nearer approaches [at Lapwai] to civilization and more manifest desire for improvement than I have elsewhere met with in this or any other Indian country.

Mr. Spalding is an ardent and rather hasty man but certainly a zealous influential and most efficient missionary and with his incomparable Lady doing much good in this dark portion of the earth.

Their prospects are much more flattering than at any mission station in Oregon of this side of the mountains.¹⁵

One day Dr. White asked Mrs. Spalding if she ever got lonely. She replied that she never found time to feel lonely. "He seemed quite surprised," she wrote to her parents.¹⁶ Too much praise cannot be given to that courageous woman who shared her husband's love for the Nez Percés.

McKinlay was also much impressed with what he saw at Lapwai, and on December 27 wrote Spalding a letter congratulating him on the fine work he was doing. Spalding forwarded the letter to Greene.¹⁷ On January 23, 1843, McKinlay wrote to Walker, saying: "I . . . was most agreeably surprised at the great progress of the school. . . . I had formed no adequate idea of the labors of himself & Mrs. Spalding."¹⁸

Spalding was delighted with White's visit and set to work at once to print the laws. Before the old year closed an eight-page booklet had been printed and distributed.¹⁹ Spalding was pleased with the establishment

¹⁵ White to Greene, April 8, 1843. Coll. A.

¹⁶ Spalding letter No. 52.

¹⁷ Rec'd by Greene, Aug. 9, 1843. Coll. A.

¹⁸ Copy in Coll. S.

¹⁹ *Ore. Hist. Quar.*, Vol. 23, p. 98, gives picture of title page. One of these booklets is in Coll. A.

of the laws. While neither he nor his wife had ever manifested fear, yet the adoption of the laws by the natives gave them a greater sense of security. The responsibility of disciplining the lawless element was placed squarely upon the shoulders of the chiefs and the principal men. Spalding felt that now he could turn the ruffians over to the Indians themselves, and he was happy. He sat down and wrote to his friend, Dr. John McLoughlin, at Vancouver, saying:

The Indians in this vicinity are remarkably quiet this winter, and are highly pleased with the laws recommended by Dr. White, which were unanimously adopted by the chiefs and people in council assembled. The visit of Dr. White and assistants to this upper country will evidently prove an incalculable blessing to this people.²⁰

When Littlejohn was at Lapwai with the White party, he, too, was much impressed with what he saw. At Spalding's earnest request, he decided to move to Lapwai and render such assistance in the work as he was able.

LITTLEJOHN BOY DROWNED

Littlejohn returned to The Dalles with the White party to get his wife and son, Leverett, then about twenty months old. They made the trip to Lapwai in midwinter, camping out at night in the snow, and arrived on January 6. Littlejohn proved to be a devoted and helpful assistant for Spalding. He was handicapped because of his lack of knowledge of the Nez Perce language, yet was able to do many things in the school. Mrs. Spalding's health was then too feeble for her to do much. Her spirit was always taxing her body.

On Wednesday, March 29, the angel of death visited Lapwai, and took away the little boy who had won his way in so short a time into the affections of the Spaldings. By a strange coincidence, death came in the same manner that it had to the little Whitman girl. The Spaldings had a fence around their home and garden, to keep their children away from the river and the mill

²⁰ Spalding letter No. 47.

race. Through a hole in this fence, the twenty-two-month-old boy squirmed. Unobserved, he scampered across the field to the mill race, which was not more than a hundred yards from the house, and was drowned.

Soon Eliza, then about five and a half years old, entered the house and inquired for Leverett. Mrs. Littlejohn went in search of the babe, and not being able to find him called for assistance. The men and some of the natives joined in the search. Mr. Littlejohn, fearing the worst, closed the gate at the head of the mill race, and let the water drain out. "In a moment," wrote Mrs. Spalding, "the water lowered sufficiently to expose to view what we greatly feared, yet hoped not to see." Every effort was made to restore him to life, but without avail. The next day, they committed the little body to the earth, and as Mrs. Spalding wrote, "told Jesus of the wounds this stroke had caused, and sought His healing Balm."²¹

The Spaldings redoubled their watchfulness over Eliza and Henry.

MISSION PROGRESS

Never did the outlook for the Clearwater mission look brighter than at the time of Dr. White's visit. The school reached the peak enrollment of two hundred and thirty, which number included many of the chiefs and the principal men. Timothy and Joseph assisted in the teaching and took the responsibility for the discipline. Mrs. Spalding was not able to do all that she wanted to, but with Littlejohn's help, all went well.

The Nez Percés were worried about Mrs. Spalding. One day when she was very sick, one of the chiefs, we could believe it to be Timothy, said: "I would gladly die in her stead that she might live to teach the people."²² The schoolhouse was so crowded that it was with difficulty that one could move about to superintend the instruction. "We need," wrote Spalding, "a house 4 times as large, which may also answer for a house of

²¹ Spalding letter No. 51.

²² Spalding letter No. 50.

worship.”²³ During the summer of 1843, Spalding gathered logs, sawed them, and began the erection of a “meeting house” which measured thirty by fifty feet. He chose a site along the west slope of a hill overlooking the level plain now included in the Spalding State Park.²⁴ The building was not completed until November, 1844. Spalding worked hard on it during the summer of 1843, for he expected a school enrollment of three hundred that winter and wanted to be ready.

While Spalding was having such success at Lapwai, Walker and Eells were having a different experience at Tshimakain. On February 28, 1843, Walker reported to Greene that he and Eells were then conducting two schools, one with an enrollment of eleven and the second with an enrollment of twenty-two. “It is very evident,” Walker wrote, “that the Indians care less and less about receiving instruction. . . . My fears and expectations with regard to them are being manifest that it is not us but ours they want.”²⁵

Spalding printed not only the laws of the Nez Perces but also a hymn book of some thirty-two pages. He and A. B. Smith had been appointed a committee by the mission, at its annual meeting in the fall of 1839, to prepare such a book. There is no evidence that Smith rendered any contribution to this project. Spalding liked to sing, and we can easily believe that he found the task of translating hymns into the Nez Perce, and writing new words to fit old tunes, a joyful one. Among the songs that the Nez Perces still sing is the Lord’s Prayer put to the tune usually associated with “How Firm a Foundation,” which Spalding arranged. Although the title-page of the hymnal bears the date, 1842, his Diary shows that he was still setting type on February 23, 1843, and

²³ *Loc. cit.*

²⁴ Among the Spalding letters in the Whitman collection, I found a letter of Spalding dated August 31, 1864, to his daughter Eliza, in which he stated that Gov. Caleb Lyon had authorized the building of a new stone church “on the spot where my old church stood.” The ruins of the stone church, measuring 30 by 50 feet, can easily be seen today. The mission site was made a state park in February-March, 1935.

²⁵ Walker to Greene, Feb. 28, 1843.

on March 6 he wrote: "Work at Hymn book get down the first form."²⁶

Walker spent ten days or so at Lapwai in November, 1842, printing, with Spalding's assistance, a sixteen-page book in the Spokane language.

PROGRESS IN AGRICULTURE

When White visited Lapwai, he requested that Spalding write out a brief history of the mission. This Spalding did, and in this report he traced out the progress the natives had made in agriculture. The introduction of agriculture meant changing the habits of a nation. It meant that people lived in one place, instead of roving about to follow the game or to dig roots. Some of the Indians jokingly told Spalding that he had converted them into a nation of women, meaning that the men had shared the responsibility of working.

Spalding summed up the progress the natives had made along this line as follows:

Last season about one hundred and forty cultivated from one-fourth of an acre to four or five acres each. About half this number cultivate in the valley. One chief raised about one hundred and seventy-six bushels of peas last season, one hundred of corn, and four hundred of potatoes.

Eight individuals are now furnished with plows. Thirty-two head of cattle are possessed by two individuals; ten sheep by four; some forty hogs.²⁷

Spalding was pleased with the way the chiefs took the lead in this work. Ellis, the head chief, had the largest farm of all. The Indians were appreciating the advantages of cultivation over the haphazard life of the chase. The one great handicap that they faced in cultivation was the lack of proper implements. Spalding emphasized to White his need for plows.

In the spring of 1843, Spalding "wooded five ploughs." which brought up the total number owned by the people to nine. Dr. White promised to send ten more, and in addition gave fifty hoes.²⁸ In 1844, Spald-

²⁶ Spalding's Diary closes with the entry March 7, 1843.

²⁷ Spalding letter No. 50.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

ing wrote: "The natives make astonishing advances in husbandry; they add to their former crops about twenty-five percent every year." The Indians were willing to make every possible sacrifice for plows.²⁹

The Indians who lived at Kamiah were also industrious, as were the ones who lived at Waiilatpu. Even though Smith had left Kamiah because of some local trouble, the Indians there repeatedly asked Spalding for another missionary.

Mrs. Spalding in a letter to her parents dated April 5, 1844, gives the following information about their farm:

We have the peach trees now in full bloom, our apple trees are yet quite small. About 500 bushels of corn was raised at this station, last year, and the ground on which it grew is now covered with wheat. The labor on the farm is mostly performed by natives.³⁰

Failure to find financial statements makes it impossible to speak with certainty regarding Spalding's expenses to the Board during the years 1843-1847 inclusive. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that with the growing tide of emigrants who usually arrived in Oregon in need of food, the mission stations of Waiilatpu and Lapwai both became entirely self-supporting. On May 10, 1843, Spalding wrote to Geiger about sending a pack train with flour and other supplies as far east as Fort Hall.³¹ Spalding furnished part if not all of these supplies, thus rendering an invaluable assistance to the colonization of Oregon.

The increasing inflow of white people into Old Oregon had begun to alarm the Indians. Even before Whitman returned in the fall of 1843 at the head of a great caravan which included about one thousand people, the Indians were getting restless.

WHITE VISITS LAPWAI AGAIN

There were a number of circumstances which made Dr. White feel that a second trip to the upper Columbia

²⁹ Spalding letter No. 59.

³⁰ Spalding letter No. 58.

³¹ Spalding letter No. 53.

country was necessary. The Indians were becoming excited over the number of whites who were entering their country.³² White had not succeeded in getting the Cayuse Indians to agree to the laws, and had promised to return to them in the spring of 1843. Even though the Nez Perces had unanimously accepted the laws, still there was some uneasiness there, largely due to Ellis. Spalding accused Ellis of being proud. His newly acquired authority made him haughty. Once he visited Lapwai, "filled with pride, vanity, and wrath and made an attempt to frighten Mr. S. and all the chiefs here with great swelling words," according to Mrs. Spalding.³³

Spalding soon realized that the laws had their serious disadvantages, and so was eager for White to return and have another conference with the people. It was no easy problem for a nation of people to suddenly change their ways of living and adopt the white man's conception of law and order, and of justice and penalties. Dr. White, with Rev. Gustavus Hines and Rev. H. K. W. Perkins of the Methodist mission, arrived at Lapwai, Saturday, May 13, 1843. White was able to straighten out several difficulties on this second visit.

One day after Ellis and his band of warriors arrived at Lapwai, the Indians staged a mock battle on the level plain to the west of the mission house. Among those who witnessed the display was little five-year-old Eliza, who was so frightened by what she saw that she almost had hysterics. Many years later Eliza wrote her *Memoirs*, and said of that event: "The mental picture of that sham battle has always remained a vivid one with me."³⁴

NEW MEMBERS WELCOMED

During the winter of 1842-43, Spalding conducted some special religious meetings with good results. The

³² Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 213, quotes White: "I received communications . . . representing the Indians in the interior as in a great state of excitement, and under much apprehension from the circumstances that such numbers of whites were coming in, as they were informed, to take possession of their land and country."

³³ Spalding letter No. 51.

³⁴ Warren, *Memoirs*, p. 20.

Indians were in a receptive mood, due in part to the beneficial effects of Dr. White's first visit. A number of Indians were ready to be received into the church in December, 1841, when Whitman visited Spalding. Due to Whitman's refusal to consent, they were not then received but kept on probation. Spalding, learning that two Methodist ministers were to accompany White on his second visit, decided to receive these Indians into the church on Sunday, May 14, when his guests were present. There was no longer a Smith or a Gray in the mission to object.

According to the account of that day given to us by Mr. Hines, some two hundred Indians assembled in the rear of Spalding's house for worship.³⁵ Spalding presented in this service four men and five women for membership. The record book of the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon contains the following account made by Spalding:

May 14, 1843, on profession of their faith in Christ & by the advice of Mr. Littlejohn the following persons were admitted to the First Presbyterian Church in Oregon, having been examined as to the ground of their hopes, some of them three years ago & some of 18 months. . . .

Then following the list of new members, which included the wives of Joseph and Timothy, "The Lord be thanked," wrote Spalding in the record book, "To him be all the praise for these trophies of his victorious grace."

The minutes also reveal the fact that on February 4, 1843, James Conner had been suspended "for the sin of Sabbath breaking, neglect of religious duties & fighting." Spalding later added this note, elaborating on his sins: "It has since proven that he has been guilty of polygamy, sending a challenge to fight a duel, and vending liquor."

Five Crows, also called Hezekiah, was unable to be present on that day. He was, accordingly, welcomed into the church June 16. Hezekiah was a most influential Indian, whom Dr. White made head chief of the Cayuse tribe on this second trip of his. Hezekiah had spent two winters in Spalding's school at Lapwai. Spalding was

³⁵ Hines, *Exploring Expedition*, pp. 172 ff.

exultant when this influential chief was baptized and received into the church, and wrote in the minute-book: "Go on thou King Immanuel conquering & to conquer till all these kings and queens shall become nursing fathers and mothers in this little church which is now in the wilderness."³⁶

Writing to White regarding his Sunday congregations, Spalding said:

The congregation on the Sabbath varies at different seasons of the year, and must continue to do so until the people find a substitute in the fruits of the earth and herds for their roots, game, and fish. . . .

For a few weeks in the fall, after the people return from their buffalo hunt, and then again in the spring, the congregation numbers from one thousand to two thousand. Through the winter, it varies from two hundred to eight hundred. From July to the 1st of October, it varies from two hundred to five hundred.³⁷

With such splendid results, need we wonder why every visitor to the Lapwai station speaks of the fine work Spalding was doing? The members of the Wilkes Expedition, McKay, McKinlay, White, Smith, and Littlejohn, were among those whose testimonies we have reviewed. After Rev. Gustavus Hines took part in one service, he wrote in his Journal: "This is evidently the most promising Indian mission in Oregon."

THE SPALDINGS GET SCARLET FEVER

During the summer of 1843, Mrs. Spalding was not well. She was taken ill with a fever on August 20, and confined to her bed. No doctor was available, and her husband had to rest back on the meager medical knowledge he had picked up in a few weeks of study in the fall of 1835. Mrs. Spalding felt that it was her last sickness, and gave her farewell instructions. For nearly two weeks she hovered between life and death. Believing that her end was near, Spalding sent word to Geiger at Waiilatpu and to the Walkers and Eells to come and attend her funeral. Geiger arrived on September 14, and Walker on the 15th.³⁸

³⁶ *Synod of Washington*, 1903, p. 259.

³⁷ Spalding letter No. 48.

³⁸ Spalding letter No. 59.

Long before Mrs. Spalding was out of danger, her husband was stricken, and then later, the children. Had it not been for the friendly ministrations of the Littlejohns, the Spaldings would have been in a serious predicament. As soon as Walker arrived, he sent a messenger to meet Dr. Whitman, who was with the emigrant train then crossing what is now southern Idaho.

The messenger met Whitman at the Grande Ronde, on the east side of the Blue Mountains. Whitman turned the emigrants over to one of his faithful Cayuse Indians, Stickus, and hurried on direct to Lapwai to minister to the Spaldings. He reached their home on Monday evening, September 25, and diagnosed the case as scarlet fever. He found both Mr. and Mrs. Spalding on the road to recovery. The children were still seriously ill.

Whitman tarried but a single day at Lapwai, and then, mounting his horse, hurried off to his own station to make preparations for the emigrants, many of whom needed supplies. He had but a few days at Waiilatpu, when he had to mount his horse again, and ride one hundred and sixty miles to the Tshimakain to attend Mrs. Eells, who gave birth to a son on the 6th of October.³⁹ Surely, if ever a man needed more rapid means of transportation, it was Dr. Whitman.

IN SUMMARY

A new day opened for Oregon with the arrival of the emigration of 1843. Exaggerated tales were floating about regarding the numbers which would come the next year. "About 1000 came last year," wrote Mrs. Spalding in the spring of 1844, "and it is said that 10,000 at least may be expected this year."⁴⁰ Is it any wonder that the Indians began to be alarmed? The Oregon Trail led across the hunting grounds of the Cayuse Indians. They had reason to be uneasy.

The year that Whitman was east was the happiest year in Spalding's missionary experience. While a bit uncertain regarding the possible outcome of Whitman's

³⁹ *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 177.

⁴⁰ Spalding letter No. 58.

mission, yet he had a growing conviction that all would be well. He had no thought of returning to the States, even if the Mission Board saw fit to discharge him. Never were there happier relations with the Nez Percés. His school had reached its peak attendance of two hundred and thirty. His Sunday congregations had sometimes approached the two thousand mark. His visitors told him that he was doing the best mission work in all of Oregon, and he was happy. New members had been welcomed into the church; the rougher element had been subdued, temporarily at least, by the instituting of the laws; even Craig was quiet and coöperative.

As soon as strength permitted, Spalding was at work again, building his "meeting house" on the side of the hill, happy in the anticipation that better things were yet before him. Little did he then dream of the troubles and difficulties which were to beset his path and that of his associates in the years immediately before them.

His prayer was: "Go on thou King Immanuel conquering & to conquer."

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE CLOUDS GATHER

A new era in the history of the Oregon mission of the American Board began with the arrival of the 1843 emigration. With considerable fear and suspicion, the Indians watched the long caravan emerge from the west slope of the Blue Mountains and cross their country. More came the next year, and still more the year following. On September 15, 1845, Spalding wrote to Allen, saying: "Two years ago 100 wagons passed to the Willamette, last year 160, and this year 600 are said to be passing Dr. Whitman's station or near to it."¹ The white American population of Oregon in 1850 was 8,785.²

This ever increasing tide of white people rolling into Oregon undoubtedly became one of the basic causes for the tragedy which took place at Waiilatpu on November 29, 1847. That mission station represented the meeting place of two powerful forces, each contending for supremacy. On the one hand were the natives, fearful of losing their country, clinging most tenaciously to old superstitions and old ideas. On the other hand was the Oregon Trail, the outthrust of a strong aggressive civilization. The Whitman home was located, not only in the heart of the Indian country, but also on a branch of that Oregon Trail. Its strategic location made it the focal point of the struggle between the red man and the white.

The cancellation of the disastrous order of February, 1842, by the Board meant that the Oregon mission had survived one great crisis. At once, however, the missionaries found themselves facing another. It was not long before the missionaries became acutely aware of the changing attitude of the Indians toward them and their work, and often wondered what the outcome would be.

¹ Spalding letter No. 60.

² Penrose, *Whitman*, p. 28. Barrows, *Oregon*, pp. 263-264, estimates the population in 1846 at 12,000. This is evidently an exaggerated figure.

THE SPALDING HOME AT LAPWAI

Before taking up the story of the difficulties which the missionaries faced, let us review the main events of the years 1843 to 1847 of the Spalding home at Lapwai. We find our source material for this period rather limited. If Spalding kept a diary for these years, it has been lost. Spalding wrote but once a year to the Board during the years 1843 to 1845 inclusive. In 1846, he wrote three times, and in 1847, four times. In these letters, he deals, for the most part, with the troubles the missionaries were having with the Indians. The *Missionary Herald* for these years has virtually nothing to say about its Oregon mission, except the formal statement in its annual reports.

Whitman brought back a letter from Greene to Spalding, dated April 7, 1843. In this letter Greene suggested that perhaps Spalding had a "distaste for that quiet steady uniform perseverance which generally accomplished most in the long run," and that he was "somewhat too much inclined to a certain wholesale way of accomplishing" his work. This aroused Spalding. "If I have a natural 'distaste' for steady mission work," he wrote to Greene on April 8, 1844, "I think I deserve the more praise for holding on after so many of my 'quiet' 'steady' 'uniform' 'patient' persevering brethren have left."³ Spalding's missionary convictions, awakened when he read the tract setting forth the needs of six hundred millions, and expressed in his graduation oration, never faltered. Even though we do not have much information regarding the events of these four years at Lapwai, one thing we do know: Spalding carried on with zealous energy and unfailing perseverance.

Much of the time he and Mrs. Spalding labored alone. The Littlejohns appear to have left them in the fall of 1843. Spalding secured the services of a young man named Lee, from Nashville, Tennessee, who was in the emigration of 1843, to assist in the school at Lapwai during the winter of 1843-44. For the winter of 1845-46 Spalding secured the services of an old man by the name

³ Spalding letter No. 59.

of O'Kelley, who helped with the mill work.⁴ In 1846 the Spaldings had the great joy of welcoming Horace Hart, a younger brother of Mrs. Spalding, to Lapwai. How is it possible for us to measure the happiness that his visit brought to both Mr. and Mrs. Spalding! Mrs. Spalding had already learned of the death of both of her parents, and from Horace she learned intimate details that had not been written.

During these years two more baby girls came to live with the Spaldings. Martha Jane was born on March 20, 1845, and Amelia Lorene on December 12, 1846. Spalding would frequently take the two older children with him on trips, thus relieving his wife of their care while he was away. Once, while returning from Waiilatpu with Eliza and Henry, when Eliza was seven years old and Henry five, they found it necessary to cross the Clearwater River near the present site of Lewiston, Idaho. It was a cold night in January. Spalding and his children had crossed there without difficulty a few days previous, but during the interval the water had risen. Two accounts of that incident have come down to us. Here is Eliza's account written many years later:

We were anxious to get home, and entered the water, expecting the horses to easily wade across. In an instant the horses were swimming against a deep and strong current. Father yelled to me to hold my bridle loose, and to cling tight to my saddle, which I did for dear life, for the water was up to my waist and very swift. The horse father was riding objected to swimming under his load. My brother Henry was on behind father, and the horse did his best to unseat them. Father soon had him under his control and swimming alright. The pack horse crossed in order, on his own initiative, and we were all soon safe on the opposite landing.⁵

They were ten miles from Lapwai and had to ride the distance on the cold night in their wet clothing. Such fortitude!

SCHOOL FOR WHITE CHILDREN

A new development in the Oregon mission which came, perhaps, in the winter of 1844-45, was the estab-

⁴ Spalding letter No. 63.

⁵ Warren *Memoirs*, p. 17. See also undated Spalding Ms. in Coll. A about Eliza.



ELIZA SPALDING WARREN



MARTHA JANE SPALDING WIGLE



HENRY HART SPALDING.



AMELIA SPALDING BROWN.

THE FOUR SPALDING CHILDREN BORN AT LAPWAI.

Eliza, b. Nov. 15, 1837.
d. June 21, 1919.
Martha, b. March 20, 1845.
d. Dec. 5, 1924.

Henry, b. Nov. 24, 1839.
d. March 22, 1898.
Amelia, b. Dec. 12, 1846.
d. Nov. 25, 1889.

Pictures of Eliza, Henry, and Martha furnished by Mrs. J. Thorburn Ross of Portland from the Historical Room of the First Presbyterian Church.
Picture of Amelia taken from Warren *Memoirs*.

lishment of a school for white children. In addition to the two Spalding children and the Walker boy, the Whitmans had eleven whom they had taken into their home. The Whitman home might justly be called the first orphanage of Old Oregon.

In the fall of 1843, Whitman brought out his thirteen-year-old nephew, Perrin. Before that, two of the mountain men, Bridger and Meek, had sent their half-breed girls, Mary Ann Bridger and Helen Mar Meek, to Mrs. Whitman for schooling. On March 2, 1842, Mrs. Whitman found a little "miserable looking child, a boy between three and four years old." His father was a Spaniard and his mother an Indian. The child had been terribly treated and abused. She cleaned him up, took him into her home, and gave him the name of David Malin.⁶

In October, 1844, seven children, ranging in age from a five-month-old baby to a boy of thirteen, including two boys and five girls, were left at Wailatpu. They were the Sager children and were made orphans by the death of both parents on the Oregon Trail that summer. By this sudden and unexpected addition, the Whitmans found themselves responsible for eleven children.⁷ Undoubtedly Mrs. Whitman had a school for her family in the winter of 1844-45. We have no record to show whether Eliza attended or not.

A young man by the name of Andrew Rogers, of the emigration of 1845, was persuaded to stop off at the Wailatpu station and assist in this school. Rogers had gone to Oregon for his health. He planned to enter the ministry, and proved a most useful and efficient worker. It is presumed that at least the eldest of the Spalding children attended school at Wailatpu that winter.

During the winter of 1846-47, William Geiger taught the school for white children. This time both Eliza and

⁶ David Malin is the name of one of the young men who lived in Prattsburg when Narcissa lived there. He was a schoolmate and friend of Spalding. He later became pastor of a church in Philadelphia. When Spalding went east in 1870, he visited in Dr. Malin's home and preached in his church.

⁷ *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 191.

Henry Spalding were sent. Since Geiger planned to go to the Willamette early in the spring, the school was closed about March 1, 1847, and Spalding was notified to that effect. Spalding was well pleased with the progress his girl and boy had made under Mr. Geiger, whom he called "a most efficient teacher." When Eliza returned, she took with her a letter from her teacher to her mother, part of which read as follows:

Mrs. E. Spalding. Dear Sister. I am about to leave for the lower country, and feel it a privilege and pleasure to leave this note in the hands of Eliza to carry to you when she returns home. I feel great satisfaction, and pleasure in her conduct and endeavors to learn, the past winter, and I hope her proficiency may give satisfaction to her beloved Parents. She has been studying Arithmetic, Geography, Writing, Reading and the Orthography; and has made good proficiency in all for the time. She has also been taught music by Mr. Rodgers in connecting with the school.

Geiger also wrote approvingly of the progress that Henry had made.⁸

SPALDING, THE BOTANIST

Spalding's interests were multitudinous. He was able to turn his hands to many tasks and there be efficient. He was preacher, teacher, doctor, farmer, horticulturist, mechanic, printer, lumberman, weaver, miller, carpenter, musician, translator, and author by turn and as the occasion demanded. He kept weather reports with such faithfulness and accuracy that the members of the Wilkes Expedition saw fit to include them in their report. Among his interests was botany.

When the Lewis and Clark Expedition passed through the Clearwater Valley, Clark made a fine collection of plants and flowers which is now in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania. These specimens were made the basic types of western plants for scientific classification.⁹

In June, 1844, a German botanist by the name of

⁸ Geiger to Mrs. Spalding, Feb. 25, 1847. Coll. W.

⁹ *Kamiah Progress*, Sept. 15, 1932: "Cascara, used world wide as a cathartic, was first found in this valley and made known to science . . . by Clark."

Karl Andreas Geyer¹⁰ spent a few weeks with Spalding, gathering specimens for a collection which was later sent to London. He interested Spalding in botany, with the result that Spalding made a collection of several hundred varieties and sent them to Greene.¹¹ On June 6, 1846, Spalding wrote to Greene about his collection:

I send them to you with the expectation that you will dispose of them as may be thought best. Should they arrive uninjured they will be worth \$5.00 or \$6.00 a hundred, i. e. the Botanical Gardens in London offer that price for flowers from this country . . . I have taken the liberty to send a full set to the National Institute, City of Washington.¹²

Greene turned the collection over to Dr. Asa Gray, the famous botanist at Harvard University, who wrote to Greene on March 1, 1849, saying:

A few days ago, I had the pleasure of handing you \$35, received for two sets of specimens which I made from the collection of Mr. Spalding, at Clear Water, Oregon. I hope still to realize as much more from them, which I shall pay over to the Board.¹³

Dr. Gray¹⁴ gave some directions regarding the care of the specimens, with the hope that Spalding would continue his collecting. He closed his letter with this note: "Will you send to Mr. Spalding the accompanying copy of a Memoir, just printed, which contains a few notices of interesting plants from his collection—as far as yet studied."¹⁵

Geyer was another who praised the work that Mr. and Mrs. Spalding were doing at Lapwai. In his pub-

¹⁰ Sometimes called Carl A. Geyer and Charles A. Geyer.

¹¹ *Cont. U. S. Nat. Herb.*, Vol. XI, p. 16, "According to the testimony of his son the late H. H. Spalding, the specimens were largely gathered by his mother."

¹² Spalding letter No. 66. Herein he claims to have made the collection himself, "Mrs. Spalding did most of the drying in papers."

¹³ A copy of this letter is in Coll. W.

¹⁴ Gray was a teacher of Whitman's at Fairfield Medical College.

¹⁵ At least three plants were named in Spalding's honor, namely, *Phaca spaldingii*, better known as *Astragalus spaldingii*, *Rosa spaldingii*, and *Silene spaldingii*. J. Orin Oliphant has an article in the *Wash. Hist. Quar.*, April, 1934, on the subject of Spalding's interest in botany, but did not list the plants named in Spalding's honor.

lished report he devoted two pages to a description of the Lapwai mission station and emphatically declared that Spalding was "by far the most successful Indian missionary deputed by the American Board of Foreign Missions." He berated the Board for not supporting him better and declared that "the credit & praise belong solely to him." At the end of the footnote Geyer wrote: "The scientific reader will pardon this digression from my subject, for I have longed to do justice to Mr. S., & took advantage of this occasion."¹⁶ Thus we can add Geyer's name to the growing list of impartial observers who bore unanimous testimony of the effectiveness of Spalding's methods.

JOEL PALMER VISITS LAPWAI

Another noteworthy visitor that Spalding welcomed to Lapwai was Joel Palmer,¹⁷ who was a member of the great 1845 emigration. Palmer arrived at Lapwai on April 2, 1846. He went to buy horses and to explore the country, and remained there until the 10th of the month. Spalding entertained his guests by relating interesting anecdotes, one of which was about his own success in lassoing a bear in a tree.¹⁸

Palmer, like other visitors who preceded him, praised the fine work the Spaldings had done at Lapwai. "They need more assistance," he wrote, "Mr. Spalding must attend not only to raising produce for his own family, but also to supply in a great measure food to numerous families of Indians; to act as teacher and spiritual guide,

¹⁶ Geyer, *Notes*, Vols. 4 and 5, pp. 86, 87, 516-518. A detailed account of Geyer's botanical collections of 1843 and 1844 was published by Sir William J. Hooker in his *London Journal of Botany*, Vol. 6, 1847, and his *London Journal of Botany and Kew Garden Miscellany*, Vols. 3, 5, 7, and 8, 1851 1853, 1855, and 1856, under the title "Catalogue of Mr. Geyer's Collection of Plants Gathered in the Upper Missouri, the Oregon Territory, and the Intervening Portion of the Rocky Mountains." Geyer was born in Dresden, Saxony, Nov. 30, 1809; died Nov. 21, 1853, at Meissen. Information supplied by Dr. Carl D. Wells and Frederick V. Colville, both of Washington, D. C.

¹⁷ Palmer was commissioned general in the Cayuse war of 1847.

¹⁸ Palmer, *Journal of Travels*, Vol. 30, Thwaite's *Early Western Travels*, pp. 233 ff.

as physician and perform many other duties incident to his situation."

The only white people in the vicinity at that time, besides the Spaldings, were Craig, whose home was about "six hundred yards from Mr. Spalding's dwelling," and a man by the name of Gilbert, who was working for Spalding. Regarding the mill, Palmer wrote:

There is an excuse for a grist mill, which answers to chip up the grain, but they have no bolting cloth; in place of which they use a sieve. The meal makes very good bread. There was formerly a sawmill, but the irons have been taken and used in a mill which Dr. Whitman has recently built about twenty miles from his dwelling, at the foot of the Blue Mountains.¹⁹

Palmer asked for a description of the country, which Spalding wrote out for him on April 7, 1846.²⁰ Spalding then reported that his sheep, introduced in 1838, had increased to one hundred and fifty. "We receive no salaries," wrote Spalding, "but simply our living and clothing. We therefore feel it to be our duty to endeavor to make the receipts for provisions sold, net their expenses." Spalding claimed that he had "collected and preserved over two thousand different species of flowers, plants, and grasses, many of which I think are rare."

LETTERS FROM HOME

The Whitman College collection of Spalding documents contains some four hundred letters which Spalding received. These letters date back to 1836, and include the letter sent by Greene to Spalding which authorized him to accompany Whitman. The collection includes letters from relatives and friends in the East, some of which went out to Old Oregon in missionary barrels around the Horn.²¹

¹⁹ Palmer, *ibid.* Spalding, Diary for Feb. 5, 1842, indicates that for a time he did have bolting cloth.

²⁰ Included in Palmer's Journal.

²¹ This collection passed into the hands of the Eells family and was given to Whitman College about 1930. When I first saw the letters in the summer of 1934, they were still tied up in bundles. Apparently I was the first one to make a systematic study of them.—C.M.D.

A perusal of these letters is most revealing, for they take us back to the very time that the Spaldings lived. Those letters from home, far off to the east, were read and reread. They were discussed, answered, and then carefully put away. Let us look over the shoulders of the Spaldings and read with them some of those newsy and cheering letters from their home.

Here is one from Holland Patent, New York, dated "August, 1844." It bears the signature of Elizabeth Scovill, the wife of Rev. John Scovill, then pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Holland Patent. Mrs. Scovill identifies herself: "My dear husband . . . says he knows your husband well; and remembers him with much affection. He was your bridesman. Stood up with you when you were married in Western Reserve Chapel." The Scovills had then but recently gone to the Holland Patent church. She told Eliza of the new church just finished: "We have a beautiful church, nicely furnished, with carpets, lamps, sofa on the pulpit, blinds on the windows, etc. etc."

Mrs. Scovill wrote of the death of Eliza's mother. Was that the first letter to carry the sad news to the brave woman at Lapwai? "She died last week," wrote Mrs. Scovill. Eliza's father was not a professing Christian. Perhaps with him in mind, Mr. Scovill had taken for his text for the funeral sermon: "Prepare to meet thy God." Mrs. Abigail Hasbrouck, mother of Mrs. Scovill, writing on July 9, 1846, reported the death of Eliza's father.²² The Scovills had then recently visited Lorena, Eliza's favorite sister, and had learned that if Eliza died, the children were to be sent back to her. The fact that the children had not arrived made them feel that Mrs. Spalding was "still in the land of the living."

A third letter from Holland Patent, dated "Sept. 28, 1847," also written by Mrs. Hasbrouck, tells of the packing of two missionary barrels for the Spaldings, each valued at one hundred dollars.²³ These barrels kept the

²² Captain Hart died Feb. 29, 1846, aged 80. Mrs. Hart died Aug. 20, 1844, aged 72.

²³ All of the articles in the barrels were tagged, so that Eliza could see just who of her old neighbors gave and what.

Spalding family fairly well provided with clothing. This third letter also carries a reference to the Spalding wedding: "We heard of you yesterday through Mrs. Bridges of Pratsville [Prattsburg]. She was a Miss Hopkins & told Mr. Scovill that she made your wedding cake at Hudson, Ohio." Mrs. Hasbrouck wrote of the strange provision in Captain Hart's will. "I believe you are not to receive any [property] without you come here for it. This is very hard, but you know how much opposed he was to your remaining among the Indians." Since Eliza never went back, she could not receive her part of the inheritance. Eliza must have been delighted to learn that her home church, then with a membership of about one hundred and thirty, was manifesting its interest in missions and other benevolent causes to the extent of over one thousand dollars annually.

Through such letters we can trace out some of the lights and shadows that entered the Lapwai home during these years.

SPALDING'S TRIPS FOR SUPPLIES

In spite of certain discouragements which entered into Spalding's contacts with the Indians during the years leading up to the Whitman tragedy, we do not find him letting down. He was still consumed with the desire to get the Indians settled. Dr. White had promised some plows. A shipment of plows arrived at The Dalles for Spalding in the summer of 1845, and were, evidently, the ones that White had ordered. Spalding took sixteen horses and went after them in August of that year, leaving his wife alone with the children at Lapwai. After Mrs. Spalding's serious illness in 1842, Spalding had resolved never to leave her alone again, but found on several occasions that it was necessary to do so.

He brought back not only the plows, but also a barrel from Kinsman, Ohio, packed by the Allens and the members of the Kinsman church. The day after his return to Lapwai, the barrel was opened. "I need not say," Spalding wrote to Allen, "that it was a day of great ex-

citement for our little children.”²⁴ As far as the Spalding children were concerned, the arrival of a missionary barrel was like the return of Christmas for the children of today.

In the summer of 1846 Spalding found it necessary to go to the Willamette for twenty more plows and other supplies.²⁵ He decided to make the trip by land. This was the first time he had ever tried that plan; previously all supplies from the lower Columbia country had been sent up the river by boat. River freight was expensive, and Spalding felt that a pack train would be more economical.

Spalding left in June, 1846, with Andrew Rogers, several Indians, his children Eliza and Henry, then eight and six years old respectively, and sixty-three animals. The trip to The Dalles was made without difficulty. Spalding did not know that a wagon road had been cut through on the south side of Mount Hood, so he took an old and little used trail on the north side.

The trail was exceedingly difficult. It led through an immense forest, where the great Douglas fir grows, one of the largest trees in the world. “Where shall I borrow language to describe the trail,” Spalding wrote. The animals, of course, had to proceed single file with the men scattered out among them at regular intervals. Spalding declared that after they left camp in the morning, “we saw each other’s faces no more till the last one reached camp after dark.”

All who have been in those forests will appreciate the following description:

I might attempt, but in vain, to describe my feelings, when, after living and moving 10 years in the free and open plains of Upper Oregon, I found myself horses and all suddenly swallowed up, Jonah like, in the bowels of a dark forest, seldom ever able to see more than one horse at a time except the one I was riding . . .

Spalding’s destination was Oregon City, but while in the lower Columbia country, he paid a visit to Vancou-

²⁴ Spalding letter No. 60.

²⁵ Spalding letter No. 68 gives the details of this trip. See also Spalding letter No. 62.

ver, which he had not seen since the fall of 1836, when he returned for his wife and Mrs. Whitman. He found many changes had been made during the ten-year interval. Eliza was taken ill at Oregon City and had to be carried most of the long trip back in her father's arms. The round trip took three weeks, two of which were spent in travel.²⁶

ENCOURAGEMENTS AND DISCOURAGEMENTS

This four-year period, 1843-1847, in the Oregon mission had both its encouragements and its discouragements for the faithful few who still labored there. One encouraging feature was the harmony which existed among the missionaries. The main troublemakers, A. B. Smith and W. H. Gray, were out. Spalding had learned his lesson and was more humble. Whitman wrote to Greene on November 1, 1843, saying: "Mr. Spalding . . . has expressed a much better state of feeling towards the members of the Mission & the Board since his sickness; the reception of your letter & my return than ever before."²⁷

Spalding felt more kindly toward Whitman, being grateful for the efforts Whitman had made. Spalding did not think that the Board had made sufficient explanation of its change of attitude. "Do you think," he wrote to Greene on October 17, 1845, "there has been sufficient reasons given publicly, why I am retained in the mission?"²⁸ The Board never did make a public statement on this point.

During the winter of 1843-44, Spalding had reason to feel happy over the affairs at Lapwai. His meeting house was ready for use in the fall of 1843, although not finally completed until 1844. The big new room was filled with eager scholars, although the enrollment did not total as many as in the previous year. The school was divided into three classes, and Spalding often found it necessary

²⁶ Warren, *Memoirs*, pp. 17-18.

²⁷ *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 62.

²⁸ Spalding letter No. 62.

to work until midnight to prepare the lessons for the next day. Due to the lack of textbooks, both Mr. and Mrs. Spalding had to spend much of their time printing out by hand the lessons to be studied.²⁹

In the fall of 1844 a young man by the name of Medare G. Foisy arrived at Lapwai, and was engaged to assist in printing Spalding's translation of the Gospel of Matthew. Foisy was a French-Canadian, reared in the Catholic faith, who had accompanied Father Joset into the Flathead country. From Lapwai he went to the Willamette.

The Gospel of Matthew, bearing the date of 1845, was the most important work printed at Lapwai. Between four and five hundred of these were printed, and perhaps more.³⁰ Spalding reported the completing of this task to his associates, at the mission meeting held in May, 1845, and was then assigned to the task of translating the Book of Acts. Out of the eight books printed in the Nez Perce language on the Lapwai press, Spalding was the author or translator of seven.³¹

The religious and educational interests of the Indians at Lapwai continued about the same during 1844-45. On April 8, 1844, Spalding wrote to Greene, saying that the congregations had been quite regular. His new meeting house was frequently crowded, and sometimes many had to be turned away. He kept two prayer meetings a week going, and had about two hundred enrolled in the Sunday School.

On Sunday, June 23, 1844, when Dr. Whitman was present, Spalding received ten more natives into the membership of the church, thus bringing the total native membership up to twenty-one. Their names show how Spalding delighted to give Bible names to his converts. They were: "Ruth, Lot, David, Rhoda, Jude, Titus, Levi, Bartholomew. . . ." Walker and Eells had no converts

²⁹ Spalding letter No. 59.

³⁰ Spalding's inventory of his possessions at Lapwai, made Sept. 1, 1849, lists 400 copies of Matthew. Coll. A. John Frank, elder in the First Presbyterian Church of Kamiah (Indian), presented one of the originals, bound in elk hide, to the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, in 1934.

³¹ *O.H.Q.*, Vol. 23, p. 103.

at Tshimakain. With the exception of a few of the Cayuse Indians, such as Five Crows, practically all of the native members of the church were Nez Percés, and Five Crows appears to have been part Nez Percé. There can be no doubt but that the majority, if indeed not all, of the native converts represented the fruit of Spalding's labors.

At the annual meeting of the mission held at Waiilatpu on May 10-14, 1845, the missionaries went over the church roll and removed the names of the missionaries who had left the mission. James Conner was formally excommunicated. Andrew Rogers and a couple of others were received. The last note in the minute book of the church before the end of the Oregon mission is the following:

Dr. Whitman visited Compo in summer of 47. He appears well, has withstood the efforts of the Catholics to draw him back again, refused to give up his bible to the priest who wished to burn it.³²

The missionaries spent considerable time at this meeting of their mission to discuss the darkened outlook. They noted several ominous signs which threatened the the peace and effectiveness of their work.

CLOUDS BEGIN TO GATHER

In addition to the steadily increasing tide of emigration, several specific events occurred which added to the growing hostility the Indians felt towards the missionaries. One of these contributing factors was the influence of Tom Hill.

Just when Tom Hill arrived among the Nez Percés is not known with certainty, perhaps as early as 1839.³³

³² *Minutes Synod of Washington*, 1903, p. 260. A later note states: "Since died in Cal. Jan. 1865."

³³ *T.O.P.A.*, 1880, p. 53. McLoughlin refers to Hill as being possibly a Dartmouth graduate. See also Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 257. Dr. F. C. Waite of Cleveland examined Dartmouth records and found but one Thomas Hill listed, who graduated in medicine in 1816 and spent his life as a physician in New Hampshire. The records do not bear out the report that this Tom Hill was either a graduate or a student at Dartmouth.

He was a Delaware Indian who settled among the Nez Perces, and by the spring of 1846 he was the acknowledged chief of some one hundred lodges of the Nez Perces. He was an atheist and a pronounced disbeliever in the ways of the white man. He was especially opposed to the teachings of the missionaries. Spalding had persuaded the Nez Perces to give up polygamy, Tom Hill said they could have as many wives as they pleased. He was quoted to have said:

You make me chief, and I will make you a great people. The white man tell you not to steal—I tell you there is no harm in it; the bad consist of being caught at it.⁸⁴

Ellis and other saner heads of the tribe did their best to counteract Hill's nefarious influence, but without avail. The Indians were sufficiently discontented with the trend of events, as far as their contacts with the whites were concerned, to provide fertile soil for such teachings. Tom Hill told how the white people had taken the land from his people, and he warned the Nez Perces that such would happen to them. The Indians had but to look at the Oregon Trail to have their fears confirmed. Hill advised the Nez Perces to kill Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding. Marshall, in his *Acquisition of Oregon*, gives this summary of Hill's influence: "... it is doubtful if any other one influence was as potent as Tom Hill in promoting the decadence of the Spalding-Whitman-Eells Mission, and so bringing on the Whitman massacre."⁸⁵

Writing to Greene on October 17, 1845, Spalding mentioned three factors then causing difficulty. The first was the death of Elijah Hedding at Sutter's Fort, in California, in 1844. Hedding was the son of a Walla Walla chief, bearing the name of a Methodist bishop, who had gone to California to get cattle. He there met a violent

⁸⁴ Palmer, Journal, p. 237.

⁸⁵ Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 257. Spalding letter No. 60. "Tom Hill a most blasphemous debased infidel half breed Delaware, who has been some years in the Mts. spreading his poison returned this fall with this people from Buffalo. He pretended to know all about the origin of the white man's religion & the design of the missionary. . . . Perhaps 1000 have joined his party including 8 or 9 chiefs. They have abandoned all forms of worship."

death at the hands of some white men, which aroused the Indians to demand redress. In doing so they could quote the law which Dr. White had instituted: ". . . if a white man break them [i. e. the laws] he shall be reported to the agent, and be punished at his instance." Whitman once complained of the natives' resorting to the code "for the purpose of supporting their complaints against the whites, while offenders from their own ranks are suffered to go unpunished."³⁶

Ellis, the head chief of the Nez Percés, decided to go to the Willamette Valley and call on Dr. White. *En route* he visited Whitman, who became very apprehensive that the Indians might avenge Hedding's death by killing some of the whites in the upper Columbia country. White appeased Ellis by making some promises, which were never fulfilled. White returned to the States in August, 1845, leaving a situation which was most threatening to the missionaries.

The second factor mentioned by Spalding in his letter to Greene of October, 1845, was the medicine system of the Indians. "This system teaches," wrote Spalding, "that death can be caused at any time, by the secret influence of some medicine man or woman." Whitman and Spalding were sometimes blamed by the Indians for the sickness which prevailed among them.

The third factor which Spalding stressed was that which involved land and water rights. Craig was largely responsible for this difficulty. "They are told by the enemies of the mission," Spalding wrote, "that people in the civilized world purchase their land & water privileges. This touches a chord that vibrates through every part of an Indian's soul—That insatiable desire for property." It was this demand for compensation which undoubtedly lay behind the various depredations on the mission property at Lapwai.

Early in the spring of 1846, some malcontents ordered Spalding to leave Lapwai. They destroyed his mill dam and tore down his fences. The faithful Indians, who had moved into the Lapwai Valley to cultivate land,

³⁶ Whitman to Greene, April 13, 1844. Coll. A.

and be near the mission, were likewise threatened. Whitman wrote to Greene on April 8, 1844, saying:

Mr. Spalding has had severe trials with regard to the action of the Indians in taking away the cultivated lands from Timothy one of the church members. He is a fearless man to rebuke sin, and this gives him many enemies. But probably this is not all. His industry in cultivating has enabled him to have a surplus of grain to sell, which probably is a source of jealousy.³⁷

Craig joined in the endeavor to get Spalding to leave. He incited the Indians by telling them that they did not have to obey the laws that Dr. White instituted. In 1845, Craig surveyed a claim which took in all of the mission property at Lapwai. He then went to the Willamette to have his claim recorded, but was unable to take an oath that no one then lived on the claim. "And yet," wrote Spalding, "this man is remarkably friendly, have daily intercourse. Is one of the most faithful expeditious workmen we can employ, very accommodating as a neighbor . . ." ³⁸

MORE DIFFICULTIES AT LAPWAI

The difficulties which faced the missionaries became increasingly serious after the immigration of 1845, which numbered some three thousand.³⁹ Tom Hill was then at the beginning of his real power. The Indians were wrought up over the death of Elijah Hedding. The combination of these factors and others had an immediate and disastrous effect upon mission work. Eells wrote on March 3, 1846: "It is with pain I feel obliged to state our efforts at teaching school has amounted to very little . . . only eight gave heed to the call of the bell for school."⁴⁰

Spalding took over the sole responsibility of the school at Lapwai on or before January 1, 1845, and conducted the school himself for about two years, until he

³⁷ Whitman to Greene, April 8, 1844. Coll. A.

³⁸ Spalding letter No. 63.

³⁹ *T.O.P.A.*, 1877, p. 26, gives the following numbers of immigrants for the years indicated: 1842—137; 1843—875; 1844—475; 1845—3,000; 1846—1,350.

⁴⁰ Eells to Greene, March 3, 1846. Coll. A.

was obliged to close it early in 1847. There was a great growth of gambling in the fall of 1845 and subsequently. This was but a symptom of the restlessness and anti-Christian spirit which was sweeping through the tribes.

In Spalding's letter to Greene of January 25, 1846, he related an interesting experience which had taken place the previous fall. It seems that a party of Indians had gathered near his house one night for gambling. They fed their fire with portions of his cedar fence. "The whole valley rang with their gambling songs & hideous yells, rendering it almost impossible to sleep & dangerous to go out of doors." Spalding, however, hated to see the Indians burning up his rail fence. He felt it his duty to protest; so, putting on his heavy buffalo skin coat, he went out and requested them to stop. The Indians seized him and threw him "violently upon the ground 6 or 7 times & finally upon the fire." His thick coat gave him some protection from the flames, and he remained there for a few moments.⁴¹ He then arose and began taking his burning rails from the fire. Finally the gamblers picked up their belongings and left.

"I returned," wrote Spalding, "to my room to weep with deep regret that such a flood gate of iniquity had been opened upon this defenceless tribe of babes apparently by the hands of a single white man. . . . His house is a resort for gamblers." He referred to Craig. In this same letter Spalding speaks of frequent threats made to tie him and throw him into the river, or to drive him and his family from the country and take his property.⁴²

Spalding's most discouraging letter, regarding the prospects of the Lapwai mission, was written February 3, 1847, and covered twenty-seven pages of closely written foolscap. Whitman had been up to Lapwai the previous December to attend Mrs. Spalding when Amelia Lorene was born. Both felt very discouraged over the outlook. When Spalding wrote to Greene in February, he

⁴¹ Eliza Spalding Warren visited Lapwai in the fall of 1909 and told Miss Mary Crawford, Presbyterian missionary, this incident, but added that Mrs. Spalding, seeing her husband thrown on the fire, ran out in alarm to intercede.

⁴² Spalding letter No. 63.

stated that the rougher element had got complete control of the situation, so that even those who were eager to continue with the school were afraid. The Indians had broken the windows of the new meetinghouse. They came seeking a disturbance, and when Spalding remonstrated, were ready to use their whips on him. They spat in through the windows, and in other ways insulted his wife and children.

The weaving-room was deserted. The people who were trained to keep the Sabbath with such faithfulness and strictness, desecrated the day. He also wrote:

The English language is too weak to set forth the characteristics given us. We are liars, thieves, robbers, and the authors of every evil. I was the greatest gambler that had ever been in their country, had swindled them out of many thousands dollars, and an unknown amount of property, and had reduced the nation to the most extreme wretchedness.

What heart have I to replace the windows and repair the roof to the meeting house, when it is almost certain that the windows will be immediately broken out again.

If I build a good fence it is with the probability that it will be burnt up by those who may camp near it, or by night gamblers, or thrown down in forty places by every one who may pass by.

We are now called upon to pay for the water we use, the wood we burn, the trails we travel in, and the air we breathe.⁴³

On February 22, 1847, Spalding wrote to A. T. Smith, saying:

Our prospects as missionaries has become very dark. The large and interesting school at this place which once numbered two hundred and thirty-four, has entirely ceased. Not one attends this winter, and there is not the least prospect that there ever will be another school here. The two last winters I took charge of the school myself. But more assembled to disturb, break windows, steal, create every possible confusion, than assembled to receive instruction.⁴⁴

Whitman was having a similar experience at Waiilatpu, and on April 1, 1847, wrote a very discouraging letter to Greene. He even intimated that perhaps he would locate a claim in the lower Columbia that summer "to be ready in case of retirement."

⁴³ Spalding letter No. 69.

⁴⁴ Spalding letter No. 70.

Added to the human factors was the unfortunate and extremely severe winter of 1846-47. Spalding described it as the "severest winter as to snow, cold weather & want of grass ever known by the oldest Indians in the region."⁴⁵ For more than two weeks the snow was over a foot deep in the Lapwai Valley, and on the 16th and 17th of January, 1847, the mercury went lower than it had in Spalding's experience of eleven winters. He estimated it to have been 30° below zero.

Many of the horses and cattle died for want of food and shelter. The Nez Perces lost about one half of their stock. Spalding lost some of his. What was even more serious, the wild game likewise suffered, which meant that the Indians would later suffer for want of food. The Indians in their skin lodges were ill-prepared for such cold weather. Their vitality must have been lowered, thus making them more susceptible to the scourge of diseases which took so many lives among the Walla Walla and Cayuses in 1847. These misfortunes added to the general feeling of discontent.

On August 3, 1847, Spalding again wrote to Greene, this time a letter of sixteen pages. He told of how some of the Indians had seized his mill, and how he had made no effort to get it back either by force or bribery. The season for grinding passed, when the water was high enough to turn the wheel, without their wheat being ground. Strange to say, the Indians blamed Spalding for this condition. Then followed a grave incident which Spalding described as follows:

In June, have proceeded one day on a journey to visit a large collection at a root ground and preach to them, I was so violently threatened on the subject of the mill that I thought it advisable to turn back next morning and forego the opportunity of spending a week with perhaps two-thirds of the tribe on the eve of leaving for the buffalo country. The speech was made after the camp had retired to rest. I was laying near, but not asleep. This is a common practice among this people. If any one has anything of importance to communicate to the people, he waits till night, when all are at rest, then steps out and delivers his speech seemingly to the winds, not a person in sight, but all in hearing.

His whole discourse was directed to me. Much was said about

⁴⁵ Spalding letter No. 71.

my sending the people away with their grain unground; not a word said, however, about their own savage conduct which had prevented me from grinding not only the grain of the people but my own. Much was said about the violence I might expect to meet at the root ground, etc.⁴⁶

The next morning Spalding packed his horses and turned back to Lapwai. "I took this step not to save my life," he explained, "for I do not think they will ever proceed so far as to kill me." He did not wish to precipitate trouble, and so returned home.

Thus was the stage prepared for the final tragic scene which took the lives of the Whitmans and ended the American Board's mission in Oregon.

⁴⁶ Spalding letter No. 74.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE WHITMAN MASSACRE

AS has already been pointed out, both Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Spalding had an anti-Catholic bias, which can be traced back to the days they spent at Hudson, Ohio. Mrs. Spalding in her Diary referred to the "heartless forms and ceremonies," which she and her husband witnessed in the cathedral in St. Louis. In view of this background, we could expect the Spaldings to be disturbed over the arrival of Roman Catholic priests in Old Oregon.

The first priests to reach Fort Walla Walla were Fathers F. N. Blanchet and Modeste Demers, who arrived there on November 18, 1838. Pambrun, who was a Catholic, gave them a warm welcome. As soon as the news of their arrival became known, the missionaries of the American Board became uneasy. T. F. Farnham, who was at Waiilatpu in September, 1839, gives a lengthy description of the arrival of a chief at the Whitman home, who told the Whitmans of the efforts of the priests to gain converts.¹

In all probability, many of the Indians welcomed the Catholics, because their coming introduced the competitive element into religion. The Indians had learned that the competition which existed between the American fur companies and the Hudson's Bay Company, often worked for their financial advantage. Many of the Indians were quick enough to see the antipathy which each religious group showed for the other, and felt that there might be some advantage in stimulating the rivalry.

This we know: The missionaries of the American Board became increasingly concerned over the presence and activity of the Catholic priests. The priests devised a chart, which was called a "tree" or a "ladder," to aid them in teaching the Indians. Members of the Wilkes

¹ Farnham, *Travels*, Chapter 7.

Expedition described to Whitman one of these "trees" which hung in the McLoughlin home at Vancouver. It "represented all Protestants as the withered ends of the several branches of papacy falling off down into infernal society and flames, as represented at the bottom."²

Spalding, with the help of his wife, made a "tree" for his use, which measured "6 feet long and 2 wide." On February 12, 1846, he wrote to Greene describing this new method of teaching:

The Catholics in this country have had printed (I suppose in the states) a vast No of small charts on which the Road to Heaven is exhibited & from which Luther is represented as branching off in a road that leads to hell . . .

To meet this attack I have planned and Mrs. S. has drawn and painted a chart about 6 feet long and 2 wide containing two ways one narrow & one broad. . . . Luther is represented as leaving the broad road & returning to the narrow way.³

In 1842, Dr. McLoughlin joined the Catholic church. This led the missionaries to suspect him and the Hudson's Bay Company of being involved in what they thought were Catholic plots to prevent Oregon from having an independent government, or becoming a part of the United States. In Spalding's letter of February 12, 1846, he definitely stated his conviction that the Catholics were then making "secret but persevering efforts to wield the destinies of Oregon." This idea later became an obsession with him. It is interesting to note that he had this conviction before the Whitman massacre.

On April 2, 1847, Spalding wrote a long discouraged letter to Greene, in which he listed his troubles. "Perhaps one fourth of this tribe," he wrote, "have turned Papists, and are very bitter against the Protestant religion. Villages, lodges, and even families have been separated."⁴ Craig threw his influence with the Catholic party.

Spalding carried on his mission activities through the summer of 1847 under discouraging conditions. On

² *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 190.

³ Spalding letter No. 64.

⁴ Spalding letter No. 72.

one occasion he preached a sermon against gambling and sorcery. Soon afterwards he found one of his oxen in great agony, with its ears and tail cut off. Spalding felt that one of the disaffected Indians did it because of the sermon. In spite of such discouragements, however, we find no record of the Spaldings' ever thinking about retiring to a claim, as the Whitmans did. Instead we find Spalding writing the following to Greene on August 3, 1847:

Mrs. Spalding has ever been perfectly contented and reconciled to her lot, and never had the least desire to leave. And although for a year or two past we seem to be doing nothing, and the people seem to be putting themselves beyond the possibility of our doing any good, still, after taking up the subject and praying over it, we invariably come to the conclusion that our field of labor is among this ungrateful people.⁵

EVENTS OF 1847

William McBean succeeded Archibald McKinlay as chief factor in charge of Fort Walla Walla, in 1847. McBean was a Catholic and welcomed to the Fort, on September 5 of that year, Rt. Rev. A. M. A. Blanchet, newly appointed Bishop of Walla Walla, and four associates. Before Pambrun died, he built a house for Young Chief on the Umatilla River. Young Chief had expressed a desire for a Catholic priest. On October 26, arrangements were completed at Fort Walla Walla for the sending of Vice General J. B. A. Brouillet to begin a mission on the Umatilla. Young Chief gave permission to the Catholics to use his house, which was about twenty-five miles from Waiilatpu.⁶

The emigration of 1847 was large, numbering about four thousand people.⁷ They brought in a virulent form of measles which spread with devastating rapidity

⁵ Spalding letter No. 74.

⁶ Some of the Brouillet family lived in the Willamette Valley as early as 1847. A granddaughter of Cyprien Brouillet, brother of the priest, is a member of my congregation in Moscow, Idaho. A third cousin of Jean Baptist Abraham Brouillet is Telesphore Brouillet, a retired Presbyterian minister, now of Portland, Oregon.

⁷ Cannon, *Waiilatpu*, p. 99.

among the Indians. Sometimes the measles were followed by dysentery. It is reported that one half of the Cayuse tribe died. Spalding, in an article printed in the *Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist* for July 19, 1848, described the conditions as he saw them:

It was most distressing to go into a lodge of some ten fires and count twenty or twenty-five, some in the midst of measles, others in the last stages of dysentery, in the midst of every kind of filth, of itself sufficient to cause sickness, with no suitable means to alleviate their inconceivable sufferings, with perhaps one well person to look after the wants of two sick ones.⁸

In the midst of such an epidemic, it was easy for old superstitions to assert themselves. The Indians got the idea that Dr. Whitman was poisoning them.⁹ In one of the first letters that Mrs. Whitman sent to her home, after arriving at Waiilatpu, she told of the Indian custom whereby the *te-wat* was sometimes killed when his patient died. "Thus," wrote Mrs. Whitman, "they are avenged."¹⁰

The final element in the situation which precipitated the tragedy was the arrival at Waiilatpu of Joe Lewis, who came out in the 1847 emigration. He reached Waiilatpu in a destitute condition and at once made himself at home. Lewis came from Maine and was half Canadian and half Indian. He is said to have had an undying hatred for the white race and was a scoundrel of the worst kind. He and Tom Hill were two of a kind. Whitman tried to get rid of Lewis by fitting him out with clothing and sending him on. In a few days he returned and took a leading part in inciting the Indians to the massacre. One story that he circulated was that he had overheard Whitman and Spalding plotting to poison the Indians. Faithful old Stickus, who guided the 1843 emigration over the Blue Mountains, warned Dr. Whitman: "Joe Lewis is telling the people that you and

⁸ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 260.

⁹ Before Gray left the mission, he tried to prevent some Indians from stealing his melons by injecting poison in certain ones which he thought might be stolen. Some Indians were made sick by this. Gray thought it was a good joke on the Indians.

¹⁰ *T.O.P.A.*, 1891, p. 94.

Spalding were poisoning the Indians." Stickus advised Whitman to stay away until his people had "better hearts."¹¹

SPALDING'S EXPERIENCES

Spalding arrived at Waiilatpu on Monday, November 22, 1847, with Eliza, then about ten years old, who was to attend the school for white children. Andrew Rogers was to be the teacher that year. Spalding brought with him a pack train of some seventeen animals loaded with grain. The pack train, under the care of a Mr. Jackson then in Spalding's employ, started back for Lapwai on the morning of the ill-fated day.

Waiilatpu was crowded, for in addition to the usual number, including the school children, some eight emigrant families were planning to spend the winter there. Altogether, not counting Joe Lewis, Nicholas Finley, and Joseph Stanfield, there were sixty-nine living at Waiilatpu when Spalding arrived.¹² Lewis and Finley were half-breeds. Stanfield was a French Canadian. These three seem to have been aware of what was to take place and either took an active part in the tragedy or were unharmed because of their sympathies with the Indians. The day after Spalding arrived, one of the white children died of the same disease which was taking the lives of so many of the Indians. Several others of the immigrants were seriously ill.

On Thursday, November 25, Spalding and Rogers rode to the lodge of Peu-peu-mox-mox (Yellow Serpent), where they spent the night. During the night a member of that lodge died, and the next day Spalding conducted the funeral at the Indian burial ground not far from the Fort. He and Rogers visited the Fort, where Spalding met Father Brouillet and dined with him. The day happened to be Spalding's forty-fourth birthday.¹³

Brouillet wrote of that event: "I assure you that it was a satisfaction to me to have the acquaintance of

¹¹ Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 282.

¹² For complete list see Cannon, *Waiilatpu*, pp. 107-108. Perrin Whitman was at The Dalles at the time.

¹³ Spalding letters describing the massacre are Nos. 79-83.

those gentlemen. I then indulged the hope more strongly than ever of living in peace with all . . ."¹⁴ Spalding wrote: "I told the priest that in self-defense and in order to counteract these false ideas, I had prepared a chart on which was pictured the rise of the Papal church."¹⁵ Knowing the characteristics of Spalding, we can well believe that he did not hesitate to express his opinions to the priest of the use of the Catholic "tree."

On Saturday, the 27th, Spalding and Rogers returned to Waiilatpu. That afternoon word came that some Indians were sick at the Umatilla, twenty-five miles distant, and Dr. Whitman was requested to go at once. That evening Whitman and Spalding mounted their horses and began their journey, which took all night, due to unfavorable weather and muddy trails. They reached their destination at dawn on Sunday morning. As they rode along together through the dark night, they talked about the events of the eleven years which had passed.¹⁶

On Sunday, Whitman ministered to the sick. Spalding visited Five Crows, one of the members of the church, and undoubtedly conducted religious services. Whitman visited the Catholic mission and found Bishop Blanchet, Father Brouillet, and several others there. These men had also made the trip to the Umatilla on Saturday, but had left in the morning of that day, thus arriving before night. They invited Whitman to remain and dine with them, but Whitman refused. Brouillet claimed that Whitman was much agitated, and eager to be on his way back to Waiilatpu. Brouillet also wrote: "On parting he entreated me not to fail to visit him when I would pass by his mission, which I very cordially promised to do."¹⁷

Whitman and Spalding were in the lodge of Stickus that afternoon before Whitman left. It was then that

¹⁴ Bagley, *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*, p. 191.

¹⁵ *Oregon American & Evangelical Unionist*, July 19, 1848.

¹⁶ Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 281, quotes Spalding: "The night was dark and the rain beat furiously upon us, but our interview was sweet. We little thought it to be our last. With feelings of the deepest emotion we called to mind the fact that eleven years before, we crossed this trail before arriving at Walla Walla."

¹⁷ Bagley, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

Stickus gave Whitman the warning that so troubled him. Although Whitman had been without sleep the night before, he felt it imperative to return. He said goodbye about sundown, and turned his horse's head toward Waiilatpu. It was the last time that Spalding saw Whitman.

The next day, the eleventh anniversary of the arrival of the Spaldings at Lapwai, Spalding spent with the Indians at the Umatilla, entirely ignorant of what was taking place at Waiilatpu. That evening he dined with the Catholic priests and told them of the Doctor's fears.¹⁸ On Tuesday, Brouillet started for Waiilatpu, and that evening arrived at the lodge of Tilaukait, the chief who claimed the land on which the mission station at Waiilatpu was located. Tilaukait was one of the ringleaders in the massacre and told Brouillet what had taken place.

The next day, Father Brouillet baptized some sick Indian children who were dying, an act which was incomprehensible to Spalding, who could not understand why the priest could baptize the children of the murderers at that particular time. When we remember the emphasis that the Roman Catholic church places upon baptism, this can be more easily understood. After baptizing the children, Father Brouillet visited the mission station, and assisted in the burial of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, and seven others who had been brutally massacred Monday afternoon, November 29, 1847.

THE MASSACRE

Dr. Whitman had returned home Sunday night, arriving about midnight. He told his wife what Stickus had said, and it gave them both great concern. Members of her family noticed that she ate no breakfast that morning, and that she was weeping. In the forenoon of the 29th, some of the men slaughtered an ox. They noticed many Indians present, but since the occasion of butchering usually attracted the Indians, they took no further notice of them. The massacre began about one-thirty or two o'clock in the afternoon, when an Indian entered the house and asked for some medicine. Tilau-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

kait¹⁹ engaged the Doctor in conversation while Tama-has, an Indian who was called the "Murderer" even before the tragedy occurred, approached Dr. Whitman from behind, and drawing a pipe tomahawk,²⁰ struck the fatal blow.

Several accounts of the gruesome events of that day, by survivors, have come down to us.²¹ Mrs. Whitman was the only woman killed. Both of the Sager boys, John and Francis, lost their lives. Francis, the younger, was then only fifteen years old. In addition, the following ten men were killed: Andrew Rogers, William Sanders, Isaac Gillan, James Young, Crockett Bewley, Amos Sales, Jacob Hoffmann, Mr. Marsh, Nathan S. Kimball, and Peter D. Hall. Nine were killed on the 29th. Mr. Young, who had been at Whitman's sawmill in the Blue Mountains, arrived on the 30th, and was then killed. Kimball, who was wounded the first day, was also killed on the 30th. Sales and Bewley were not massacred until eight days after the atrocities first began. Hall, though wounded, managed to escape to Fort Walla Walla. He then went down the river, and is reported to have been drowned. Thirteen were massacred on the mission grounds. When the two families who were living at the sawmill were brought in, the captives, mostly women and children, totaled forty-six.²²

Among those who escaped was W. D. Canfield, who was wounded, but managed to travel on foot to Lapwai and give the alarm. Three of the white children, who had been sick before the tragedy occurred, died during the captivity. Among them was Helen Mar Meek,²³

¹⁹ Spalding letter No. 83. "Some of them were members of our church; others candidates for admission; some of them adherents of the Catholic church—all praying Indians." Five Crows took no active part in the massacre, but later took Miss Bewley for his wife. "Telaukaikt," wrote Spalding, "[was] a candidate for admission in our church."

²⁰ A tomahawk, claimed to be the original, is on exhibit in the Oregon Historical Society. Nixon, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 231, for history.

²¹ Warren, *Memoirs*, Delaney, *The Whitman Massacre*, and other works.

²² Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 286.

²³ By a typographical error a "y" was added to "Mar" in *T.O. P.A.*, 1891, p. 153. See also *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 143, where the name is given correctly.

half-breed daughter of the famous mountaineer. Little ten-year-old Eliza was obliged to serve as interpreter, for she alone among the captives knew the Indian language.

SPALDING ESCAPES

It is very evident that the Indians wanted to include Spalding in their list of victims. Spalding started back to Waiilatpu on Wednesday, December 1. Brouillet was expecting him, and had started out to meet him. Brouillet had with him his interpreter and an uninvited companion in the person of the son of Tilaukait. When the three met Spalding about three miles from Waiilatpu, the son of Tilaukait wheeled his horse and hurried back to the mission station to inform the others.

Brouillet then told Spalding what had taken place, making mention of the baptisms, and how he had helped to bury the dead. Spalding turned his pack horse over to the priest, secured some provisions, and started in the direction of Fort Walla Walla. He knew that the Indians would kill him if they could, and felt that his only safety was in flight. "Is it possible! Is it possible!" he exclaimed to Father Brouillet. "They will certainly kill me."

According to the priest's account, about twenty minutes after Spalding left, three Cayuses came dashing up on horseback looking for him. They were much displeased to learn that Spalding had been warned and had escaped. It was then late in the afternoon and a heavy fog was settling down, all of which worked for Spalding's advantage. The Indians at once set out to trail Spalding.

About two fifths of the way from Waiilatpu to Fort Walla Walla, the Touchet River enters the Walla Walla River from the north, at almost a right angle. The main trail from the Fort to Lapwai followed the Touchet as far as was possible. When Spalding reached this trail, he turned and followed it back to his home. It may have been that in the first moment of alarm, he thought of fleeing to the Fort, and then, remembering his family, changed his destination to Lapwai.

Night soon settled down upon the country, but Spalding pressed his horse forward, fearing his pursuers. He was fortunate in that a "dark fog opened its bosom to receive me."²⁴ Also the night was dark.²⁵ Spalding described his escape in the following words:

I pushed my horse to the extent of his strength, through the night, keeping up a known stream. Next day secreted myself in a ravine, and next night kept up the same stream, till I came to a known trail, which the horse took and followed himself. About midnight I took a short sleep, and then went on—heard the tramp of horses, and the crack of whips: wheeled my horse to the right and lay flat upon him, hoping that in the thick darkness, they would pass without discovering me. But in a moment I found I was wheeling into them. I reined back instantly, and seized my horse by the nose, to prevent him from calling out.²⁶

Spalding turned his horse into the high grass and made him lie down. The Indians, who he feared were returning from Tshimakain, where they had possibly gone to massacre the Walkers and the Eells, passed by without seeing him. The thought of what might have happened at Lapwai filled him with an agonized fear. Later Spalding learned that his friends at Tshimakain had not been molested. The Indians were undoubtedly in search of Spalding.

During the early morning of the second night, Spalding paused to rest. He neglected to hobble his horse, which got away, thus leaving him on foot in December, some ninety miles from his home. His food supplies consisted of "a small piece of bread and meat, perhaps half a pound." His shoes, perhaps a gift from some missionary barrel, proved to be too tight, so they had to be discarded. He bound his leggins about his feet. He suffered from a lame knee, which made walking difficult.

²⁴ Spalding letter No. 82. This letter contains the best account of Spalding's escape that is to be found.

²⁵ In a letter from Philip Fox, director of the Adler Planetarium, Chicago, dated August 28, 1934, I learned that: "... in the dates 30 November to 6 December (1847), the Moon was in the last quadrant of its journey, on November 30 rising about midnight as a Half Moon and being in the sky of course until dawn. Toward the end of the period, on December 6, the Moon would be an exceedingly small crescent, rising just before dawn."—C.M.D.

²⁶ Spalding letter No. 82.

His blankets proved to be too heavy to be carried, so he left them behind. On Friday and Saturday nights he succeeded in walking sixty miles.

Of the terrible trials of those days and nights he wrote:

Saturday night I made 30 miles more. My feet suffered from the frozen ground. I avoided the places of encampment and forded the streams far from the trail, lest the Cayuse might be way-laying. I secreted myself on the Sabbath—and hunger, pain in my feet, and weakness were very great; I wanted sleep, but could get none, for the cold. From the moment I stopped traveling in the morning till I started at night, I shook to the center of every bone, with cold.

Spalding was much concerned about how he should get across the Snake River at Alpowa. He reached the Nez Perce village, which was located there, on Sunday evening and in the darkness began searching for Timothy's lodge.

If I can discover his lodge and the place in it where he sleeps, after all are asleep, I will steal in, awake, and draw him out and make myself known to him, and through him learn the fate of my family, the extent of the war, or murders, my own danger, obtain food, a blanket, and help over the river, and perhaps home.

Spalding found this a venturesome undertaking. Fortunately a heavy rain was falling, which caused the Indians to take their dogs within the lodges. Cautiously creeping through the encampment, Spalding heard singing in one lodge. The Indians there were having their evening worship. Spalding crept close, hoping that he would hear Timothy's voice. Some dogs had discovered his presence and had joined in a chorus of barking and snarling. To his disappointment he did not recognize the voice of the Indian who led in prayer. "In the prayer," wrote Spalding. "I heard the speaker name Doct. and Mrs. Whitman as killed, and myself as probably. But he named no one as killed at my place. Oh, what an angel of mercy to the human family is hope!" Even though the Indians in that particular lodge had observed Christian worship, still Spalding was fearful to make himself known to them. Unable to find Timothy, Spalding decided to continue his journey.

He found a canoe, in which he crossed the river. The trail on the north bank was especially difficult because of the sharp rocks. During the night he came to the Clearwater River, about in the vicinity of the present city of Lewiston, Idaho, where again he had the good fortune to find a canoe and crossed to the south side. The day dawned when he was still five miles from his home.

That day the sun shone, the first time during his flight, and Spalding was cheered by the warm rays. He was in such a weakened condition that he felt he did not dare do anything else but stumble along his way. His clothes were frozen. His feet were swollen and bleeding. Hunger gnawed within. He approached his home from the top of the bluffs on the south side of the river. Upon coming in sight of his home, he was dismayed to see a company of Indians about the house, some of whom were engaged in plundering it.

Spalding found it necessary to secrete himself and wait until darkness came. That evening a Nez Perce woman on horseback discovered him, but he had so changed that at first she did not recognize him. He disguised his voice and made inquiries about his family. To his great relief he learned that all his family were safe and had been removed to Craig's home about eight miles up the valley. The Indian woman discovered Spalding's identity when his cap fell off as he leaned over to pick up a rope she had dropped, revealing his bald head. She hurried back to tell the others that "the bald head and the Nez Perce language were mine, but that the voice and appearance was not." Thus Spalding reached his home on Monday evening, December 6, having walked the ninety miles from the place his horse got away in a little more than three nights.

The New Testament tells how Paul had his Timothy and Luke, beloved friends who accompanied him on his journeys and ministered to him in his needs. Spalding likewise had a Timothy and a Luke who were equally devoted to their missionary. Spalding missed finding Timothy at Alpowa, but had the good fortune to be received at Lapwai by Luke,²⁷ who played the part of "the

²⁷ Luke and his wife Eunice joined the church May 14, 1843.

beloved physician." Tender hands bathed the bruised feet and bound them up.²⁸ He was given food—corn meal pudding and fresh milk. A bed was prepared, and after worship together, Spalding lay down to sleep. No longer was he harassed with fear or worry. Warm blankets covered his chilled body, and he slept the sleep of the exhausted.

Meanwhile messengers had been sent to Mrs. Spalding with the glad tidings that her husband had returned.

MRS. SPALDING AT LAPWAI

On the day when the massacre began, three of the immigrants were butchering a beef, among them being Canfield. This man is not to be confused with Joseph Stanfield, a half-breed, who was one of the conspirators. Canfield was wounded by gunfire, but managed to make his escape, and although he had never been to Lapwai before, started out on foot, knowing only the general direction. He arrived on Saturday, December 4.

Mrs. Spalding had with her, besides her three little children, a young woman by the name of Miss Mary Johnson,²⁹ her brother Horace Hart, and Jackson, who had returned with the pack animals. Craig had moved to a claim about eight miles away. The following vivid description of how the dreadful news was broken to his wife is given us by Spalding:

Sitting in her room with Miss Johnson, a stranger suddenly showed himself in the kitchen, & immediately coming into her room leaned silently against the mantle. After a few moments said "Has Mr. Spalding yet come." She replied "No but we expect him every day." The stranger replied "I have heavy tidings, they are all murdered at the Docts." All was silent for a minute. My dear wife simply rose to her feet & with an unfaltering voice said "I was not prepared for this, but go on, Sir, let me hear the

²⁸ *U. S. Senate Document*, No. 37, p. 60, quoting from a letter of Horace Hart, July 5, 1869: "Mr. Spalding . . . was brought in by the Nez Percés, more dead than alive, from starvation, want of sleep, freezing, horrible swelled and mangled feet . . ."

²⁹ Delaney, *The Whitman Massacre*, p. 28, states that Miss Johnson arrived at Whitmans in 1845 and wintered there, going to the Spalding home in 1846, probably to assist Mrs. Spalding in her household duties and with the babies.

worst." "Mrs. Whitman is murdered & your husband without doubt shared the fate of all the women & children who I expect are butchered."⁸⁰

Canfield then showed his wounds and expressed the belief that the Cayuses would soon be at Lapwai. Mrs. Spalding with calmness, replied: "I must communicate this to the Indians." Canfield remonstrated, but Mrs. Spalding knew the Nez Perces. "Our only hope," she said, "is the Nez Perces, the quicker we throw ourselves upon them the better." She immediately made known the story to two chiefs who happened to be there at the time, and sent one of them to inform Craig. She also sent Timothy and Eagle to Waiilatpu to rescue Eliza, if possible.

The next day a messenger arrived from Waiilatpu with the intelligence that Mr. Spalding had fled on a swift horse, they thought toward the Willamette. What a comforting message for Mrs. Spalding! It was decided that Mrs. Spalding and the children and the other white people should move to the Craig home, where every effort would be made to protect themselves. Mrs. Spalding was quite willing to go, but said: "We will rest on the Sabbath, for 'he that feareth the commandment shall be rewarded.'" Canfield and Jackson could not understand, but the Indians, who had known her longer than they, were not surprised. With the story of such an example ever before them, is it any wonder that the Christian Nez Perces today are more strict in Sabbath observance than are their white brethren in Christianity?

On Monday, Mrs. Spalding and the others began to get ready to move to Craig's home, when suddenly a party of Nez Perces rode up, headed by a Nez Perce who had taken part in the Waiilatpu massacre. He had left that place on Friday, and had collected some of the discontented members of the Nez Perce tribe for the purpose of repeating at Lapwai what had taken place at Waiilatpu. They were keenly disappointed to find Mrs.

⁸⁰ In the Whitman Collection is a 45-page manuscript in Spalding's handwriting, which was evidently started as a letter to S. B. Treat, Sec. of the Am. Board, in which Spalding gave full details of the massacre. It is dated Jan. 14 (1851).

Spalding forewarned, and that Craig was present with a number of Indians friendly to him. The murderous band saw at once that if they tried to harm Mrs. Spalding, it would mean a fight among the Nez Percés. The friendly Indians surrounded the small band of white people, and putting the women and children in a wagon Spalding owned, took them off to the Craig home.

The malcontents then looted the Lapwai home. Among those who took part in this were some from Joseph's lodge, much to Spalding's bitter sorrow when he learned of it.³¹ The furniture was destroyed, the woodwork demolished, and much of the personal possessions of the Spaldings taken, including some of the cattle, horses, and other live stock. In the meantime, the small band of captives in the Craig home, for that is what they had become, were discussing what should be done. Craig felt safe, for he had married into the Nez Perce tribe, and the Indians about him promised to protect him. Mrs. Spalding and the children felt reasonably safe, for had not the women and children been spared at Waiilatpu, with the single exception of Mrs. Whitman? However, Horace Hart, Canfield, and Jackson did not feel so comfortable. They decided to take some provisions and go over the mountains to the Missouri River. It was a desperate hope. Mrs. Spalding helped pack some provisions, and with a brave heart kissed her brother goodbye. Spalding did not tell us just how far these three men went on their journey before turning back.

The men had hardly left Craig's home before two young Indians came dashing up on horseback with the startling news that a stranger, in a destitute condition, had been found at Lapwai. "He appeared to be extremely weak, supporting himself with a staff in each hand, feet bare and cut to pieces."³² Although the woman who first

³¹ Spalding letter No. 81 states that some of these Indians were from "the camp of Joseph," and "one of the number was his own brother-in-law." Again in the Spalding Ms., Jan. 14, 1851, he wrote: "The hostile band being greatly strengthened by the addition of a band headed by Joseph a principle chief." McBeth, *The Nez Percés Since Lewis and Clark*, p. 63, "Joseph turned back to Egypt, but Timothy was faithful, not only to God, but to his white friends."

³² This is according to Spalding's account of his experiences. See Spalding Ms. Coll. W.

saw him knew Mr. Spalding well, she failed to recognize him with certainty in that condition. Mrs. Spalding's heart beat more rapidly with hope. Could it be that the stranger was Henry, her husband?

The two Indians were sent back to make sure, and returned about midnight with the assurance that it was indeed Mr. Spalding. Spalding had hesitated to make himself known, because, as he was then ignorant of what had taken place at Lapwai, he felt it wise to be cautious. The next day, December 7, Spalding was restored to his family at Craig's.

THE RESCUE

The first word of what had taken place at Waiilatpu was carried to Fort Walla Walla by Peter D. Hall on the 30th of November. An American painter, J. M. Stanley, was *en route* to Waiilatpu the day after the massacre, and narrowly escaped being one of the victims. We can sincerely regret that he did not give us a picture of the Whitmans, for no authentic likeness of either of them is in existence.⁸³

McBean of Fort Walla Walla sent word to Vancouver, the news arriving there on December 6. Peter Skene Ogden, of the Hudson's Bay Company, at once set out for Fort Walla Walla to ransom the captives. In the meantime, the white settlements in the Willamette Valley were deeply stirred. An expeditionary force was raised to punish the offenders. Ogden was eager to ransom the captives before the Indians learned of such a move.

Timothy and Eagle, who were sent by Mrs. Spalding to Waiilatpu to get Eliza, found that the Cayuses would not let her go. Kind old Timothy was horrified at what he heard and saw. When Eliza saw him she wept for joy, and old Timothy picked up the little girl in his arms and mingled his tears with hers. "Poor Eliza," he said, "don't cry, you shall see your mother."⁸⁴ Timothy visited

⁸³ Stanley painted a picture entitled: "Massacre of Dr. Whitman's family at the Waiilatpu Mission in Oregon" which most probably was destroyed when the Smithsonian Institution was destroyed by fire in 1865. Others of his pictures were then burned.

⁸⁴ Warren, *Memoirs*, p. 30.

the sick white children, and knelt by their beds and prayed.

On December 9, the Walkers and Eells learned of the terrible tragedy. On the 10th, Spalding wrote to "the Bishop of Walla Walla or either of the Catholic priests," in which he pleaded for them to use their influence to prevent the coming of soldiers. Spalding wrote that the Nez Perces had pledged themselves to protect the white people, if "we would prevent the Americans from coming up to avenge the murders." The Indians wanted to keep the Spalding party as "hostages of peace." On the same day, Spalding wrote a brief note to McBean, in which he begged him to use his influence to "prevent the Americans from coming up to avenge the late deaths."³⁵

Ogden and his party reached Fort Walla Walla on the 19th of December, and called a meeting of all the chiefs for the 23rd. Satisfactory arrangements were made, by which the captives were ransomed. On the 29th of the month, fifty-one captives arrived from Wailatpu, and on January 1, Spalding and his party arrived, having been escorted from Lapwai by some fifty friendly Nez Perces. Ogden was obliged to pay for the ransom some sixty-two blankets, sixty-three cotton shirts, twelve guns, six hundred loads of ammunition, thirty-seven pounds of tobacco. Twelve of the blankets and some other things were for the Nez Perces.³⁶

The Spaldings found their little girl much reduced by the experiences through which she had passed. Spalding wrote that she was "too weak to stand, a mere skeleton, and her mind as much impaired as her health." With great joy the parents received her into their arms. "Had she been dead," wrote Spalding to Greene, "we could have given her up, but to have her a captive in the hands of those who had slain our dear friends, and unable to deliver her, was the sharpest dagger that ever entered my soul."³⁷

While at Fort Walla Walla, Spalding sent a letter to

³⁵ Spalding letters Nos. 76 and 77.

³⁶ Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

³⁷ Spalding letter No. 81. and Spalding to Greene, April 14, 1848.

Walker and Eells, in which he reported his safe arrival, and begged them to move with "as little delay and as privately as possible . . . to Fort Colville." He advised them not to attempt to go down the river without escort.³⁸ Walker and Eells, however, remained at their station until March, 1848, when they went to Fort Colville. There they remained until a company of the volunteers escorted them to the Willamette Valley, in June.

On January 2, Ogden loaded fifty-seven men, women, and children on boats and sent them down the Columbia. The little half-breed boy, David Malin, then nine years old, was not permitted to accompany the party. One of the Sager girls wrote: "The last look I had of him was when we rowed away from Fort Walla Walla, leaving him standing on the bank of the river crying as though his heart were breaking."³⁹ The boats were hardly out of sight before a party of Cayuse warriors arrived at the fort, demanding Spalding, for they had just learned that the Americans had already reached The Dalles, on their way to avenge the murders.

After Spalding was safely delivered into the hands of friends, he was not so eager for peace. His brother-in-law, Horace Hart, joined the expeditionary force, which numbered about three hundred. Upon Spalding's arrival in the Willamette Valley, he obligated the American Board to the extent of five hundred dollars, as a contribution toward the expenses of the expedition. "In doing it," he wrote to Greene, "I throw myself upon the patriotism of those churches who contribute to the funds of our Board."⁴⁰

The punitive expedition was not very successful. The Cayuse Indians managed to elude their pursuers, with the result that the guilty parties were not then apprehended. Horace Hart, writing to the Spaldings on May 12, 1848, from Wailatpu, said:

The Nez Perces say that Tamsuchy is on Snake River at the foot of the B. Mountains and Telouquoit is among the Poluce Indians. Jo Lewis has gone to the Mormons. . . . Five Crows recd

³⁸ Spalding letter No. 79.

³⁹ Delaney, *The Whitman Massacre*, p. 17.

⁴⁰ Spalding letter No. 80.

a severe wound at the Battle below the Utila from which it was thought he would not recover. Yellow Serpent is acting the snake to perfection.

It appears that Old James took it upon himself to act as your agent in your absence, when he returned to Lapwai . . . he told Mr. Jervie that you would never come back and that you had given all your grain into his hands to dispose of. He was to have 20 bushels, other Chiefs 10 and 5 and so on down until all was disposed of . . . Mr. J. says that Mustups is guarding your stock, whether they will be willing to have it taken away or not remains to be told.⁴¹

In the spring of 1850, five of the Cayuses, including Tilaukait and Tamahas, gave themselves up. They were taken to the Willamette Valley and hanged on June 3, 1850. Spalding is reported to have offered to see the prisoners before their execution, but they preferred the ministrations of a Catholic priest.⁴² Some of the ringleaders of the massacre, including Joe Lewis, were never caught.

THE LAPWAI INVENTORY

The Whitman massacre marked the end of the American Board mission in Oregon. The annual report of the Board, for 1850, carried this statement: "The efforts of the Board in behalf of the Oregon Indians may be considered as at an end."⁴³ Years later, the Presbyterian Church entered this field and carried on the work begun under the auspices of the American Board, both among the Nez Perces and the Umatillas, which latter tribe absorbed the remnants of the Cayuses.

An unsuccessful effort was made to collect damages from the Government for the losses suffered by the American Board and their missionaries. Spalding was able to make out a complete inventory of everything owned at Lapwai, and with the help of some who lived at Waiilatpu, made out an inventory for that station as well. The amount of property held at Waiilatpu was valued at \$41,583.26. Much of this was destroyed by the Indians, or looted. When the soldiers reached Waiilatpu in the spring of 1848, they found all of the build-

⁴¹ Original, Coll. W.

⁴² Bagley, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

⁴³ *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 46. See annual report.

ings destroyed, except the flour mill. They even found the bones of the victims scattered about, for the wolves had dug open the shallow graves.⁴⁴

In the Lapwai inventory, we find not only a complete list of everything that Spalding owned, but also a description of the buildings which he then had. Thus, we can reconstruct a picture of the Lapwai station with considerable accuracy. We know the locations of the home, the mill, and the church. The location of the other buildings is at present a matter of guesswork. Spalding placed a total value of \$10,048.44 on the property at Lapwai. His inventory for that station is nine typewritten pages long, so it can not be given in full.

He listed the following buildings: a dwelling house in two parts, "One part Block story & half 30 x 20 feet. . . . The other part . . . 30 x 24, Frame"; a school house, 20 x 16, with weaving and spinning room above; one frame house, 20 x 20; one "Meeting house, 50 x 30" with eight windows and two doors; one stone house, 20 x 20; one granary 20 x 20; an out Kitchen, 20 x 20; shop, 20 x 20, printing office, 28 x 16; and a sawmill without a roof. The saw and other machinery had previously been taken to Waiilatpu. Spalding listed also "One Grain mill without mill house, stones 32 inch diameter good quality."

He claimed one field of seven and three-fourths acres, another of twelve, and another of six, nearly all fenced and irrigated, besides some smaller yards about his house, for his stock. He had seventy-three cords of wood on hand, valued at \$1.00 a cord. Also "2 waggons—\$50.00; 2 plows—\$36.00; 1 cart. \$36.00," and many items to be found about a farm, including harness, tools, saddles, etc.

His household furniture included a cook-stove, valued at forty-five dollars; "20 doz candles, 2 sad Irons, 10 Tin Pails, 1 Looking Glass, 1 Childs cradle, 2 rocking

⁴⁴ The bodies were reburied in March, 1848, and then reburied in 1887 in the place where they now lie. The soldiers found some of Mrs. Whitman's hair, a lock of which is in the Oregon Historical Society rooms at Portland. Soldiers were kept at the mission station until the fall of 1848.

chairs, 2 setees, . . . ” The following items belonged to the school or printing shop: “1 Box of 140 Ink stands; 400 copies of Gospel of Matthew not bound native; 300 coppies small book English & native; 200 Elementry Book Native; 300 copies Hymn Book Native.” The full lot of 1,200 books was valued at \$235.00. The press itself was not at Lapwai, for it had been sent to The Dalles in 1846.

Spalding listed ninety-four head of cattle, thirty-nine head of horses, and thirty-one head of hogs. He did not list any sheep. These may have been sold previously, or sent to Waiilatpu. In the inventory for the latter station, ninety-two head of sheep are listed.⁴⁵

The Nez Perces allowed Spalding to take such personal belongings as he was able to pack on horses. Much of this was left for a time at Fort Walla Walla.

THE NEZ PERCES SAY FAREWELL TO THE SPALDINGS

Many of the Nez Perces were opposed to the Spaldings' departure. Some wanted to keep them as hostages. Others, including some of their best friends, wanted them to remain, and continue their mission work. Lapwai was far removed from the disturbing influences which flowed over the Oregon Trail, and consequently was a safer place in which to live than Waiilatpu. Spalding, however, was wise to go.

It must have been with heavy hearts that the two brave souls said farewell to their home of eleven years, Mrs. Spalding never to return. Before the party had reached the Snake River on their journey out, one of the faithful Christians, perhaps Timothy, is reported to have said to Mrs. Spalding:

Now my beloved teacher you are passing over my country for the last time. You are leaving us forever and my people, Oh my people will see no more light. We shall meet no more in the schoolroom & my children Oh my children will live only in a night that will have no morning. When we reach Walla Walla I shall look upon your face for the last time in this world. But this book (holding it in his hand) in which your hands have written &

⁴⁵ Original, Coll. A., dated Sept. 1, 1849.

caused me to write the words of God I shall carry in my bosom till I lie down in the grave.⁴⁶

The native Christians were left without a shepherd. The responsibility for keeping up the Christian observances and teachings devolved upon Timothy, who proved to be remarkably faithful. Surely it was with prayerful earnestness that Spalding bade farewell to his friend Timothy, and urged him to be faithful to the end.

When the Spaldings got on the boat at Walla Walla for the lower Columbia, their pioneer days in Old Oregon came to an end. They turned their faces toward the new Oregon, which was soon to be cut out of the old, to begin life anew.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ See Spalding Ms., Jan. 14 (1851). Coll. W.

⁴⁷ Oregon became a territory in the summer of 1848.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

TWENTY-TWO YEARS OF CONFLICT

THE first eleven years that Spalding spent in Old Oregon are illuminated by a mass of source material, including his Diary of more than 30,000 words; the correspondence of the missionaries in Oregon to the American Board of about 400,000 words;¹ and the correspondence of Spalding to relatives and friends in the East. The source material for the twenty-two years beginning January 1, 1848, is not so plentiful. At fitful and irregular intervals the veil lifts, to allow us to trace out more of Spalding's life. These twenty-two years were marked by conflicts with the Roman Catholics, with the Government, and sometimes with his best friends.

The older Spalding grew, the more he thought about his misfortunes, until at times he became morose, and even obsessed with the idea that he was being persecuted. His quick temper often got him into trouble during these years. Spalding had no Laodicean friends—they were either all for him, or else they were all against him. Spalding was that way himself in his relationships with others.

When Artemas Bullard recommended Spalding to the American Board, in August, 1835, he said that Spalding was "sometimes too much inclined to denounce or censure those who are not as zealous and ardent as himself." Bullard hoped that this tendency would die with the passing of time, but such was not the case, as the events of 1848-1870 proved.

THE SPALDINGS MOVE TO CALAPOOYA

Great things were happening in Oregon when the Spaldings arrived in January, 1848. Thousands of set-

¹ A copy of this correspondence with the Board is to be found in the Oregon Historical Society rooms, Portland, Oregon. The original files have been deposited in the Andover-Harvard Library by the American Board.

tlers were entering Oregon each year, making the older settlers political minded. A provisional government had been established in 1843, with George Abernathy as Governor. The dispute with England, regarding the location of the northern boundary, was settled in 1846, at the forty-ninth parallel. All of Old Oregon was made a territory by the United States Congress, on August 14, 1848. The act was hastened by the news of the Whitman massacre. In 1850, Congress passed a law giving every settler in Oregon a whole section of land, the equivalent of six hundred and forty acres, free. Three years later, Washington Territory was created, which included the northern part of Idaho and the western part of Montana. Old Oregon was then in the process of being broken up.

Peter Ogden, the Hudson's Bay factor who succeeded in ransoming the captives, turned his charges over to Governor Abernathy at Oregon City, on January 10, together with a written report of what had taken place. The Spaldings remained in that city for about four weeks,² having in their household Miss Mary Johnson, and Matilda Sager, who was then eight years old. The other Sager girls were taken by several interested people, eager to help out. The little Bridger girl died in March of that year.

In the spring of 1848, A. T. Smith and J. S. Griffin, two of Spalding's closest friends, drove their ox teams to Oregon City, and moved the Spaldings to Tualatin Plains, where Spalding lived for a time in the Smith home. Mr. and Mrs. Geiger, who lived on a farm adjoining the Smiths, took Matilda Sager.³ In the summer, or early fall, of that year, some of the settlers who had made their homes on the banks of the Calapooya (sometimes spelled Kalapooya), a tributary of the Willamette, sent a call to Spalding to move to their settlement and

² Spalding to Board, Feb. 22, 1848. Coll. A. "Every house in the city was full. Rev. Mr. Roberts of the Methodist Mission allowed us to occupy one of their unfinished houses without windows or doors, to which he made no charge."

³ Delaney, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

open a school.⁴ In order to make the call attractive, two of the settlers at Calapooya, Captain James Blakely, and Hugh L. Brown, offered to move their claims apart, so that Spalding might have some choice ground in between them. This was done, and in the fall of 1848 Spalding staked out his claim between his two newly made friends. His land extended across the stream, and took in the site of what became North Brownsville.⁵

With the help of settlers, Spalding erected a home, and a one-room schoolhouse which, so it is reported, was torn down in recent years, after having served as the kitchen of a farmhouse for some time.⁶ This schoolhouse became a community center, serving as a church on Sunday, and when Linn County was established, it became the courthouse. Linn County, Oregon, at that time stretched from the Willamette River between the Marion County line on the north, to the California-Nevada line on the south, eastward through eastern Oregon, across southern Idaho and part of Wyoming to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. Later the county seat was changed to Albany.

In that log courthouse, the county officers for Linn County were sworn in, under the new territorial government, on December 11, 1849. Spalding was made school commissioner, and served through 1850, and perhaps longer, in that capacity.⁷ A post office was established at Calapooya on January 8, 1850, with Spalding as postmaster, which position he held until July 14, 1853.⁸ On May 18, 1859, the name of the settlement was changed to Brownsville.

Upon moving to New Oregon, Spalding transferred his religious work from the Indians to the white people. He became one of the five charter members of the Con-

⁴ Located about a mile from Brownsville, Oregon, on the road leading to Crawfordville.

⁵ Original document showing location of the Spalding claim is in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁶ The old Spalding home has been torn down.

⁷ Eells in *T.O.P.A.*, 1897, p. 115, states that Spalding served as "Commissioner of Schools for Oregon" from 1850 to 1855. A check with state records failed to confirm this.

⁸ Original commission in Coll. W.

gregational and Presbyterian Association, which was formed at Oregon City in July, 1848; and retained his membership in it until he joined the Presbytery of Oregon, on July 24, 1868.⁹

At Calapooya, Spalding organized a church, of which he served as pastor until the summer of 1859. It appears that during some of this time he received aid up to five hundred dollars annually from the American Home Missionary Society of the Congregational Church, which had its headquarters in New York City. The Whitman Collection contains a commission from this society, which is a renewal, dated October 1, 1857, in which Spalding is designated as pastor of the Congregational Church at "Kalapooya, Oregon and the destitute in the vicinity." Spalding frequently preached elsewhere as opportunity presented itself.

The Spaldings had a hard time financially during these years. Labor and supplies were high. He wrote to Treat on July 20, 1850, saying:

The enormous prices of goods and groceries in this country here placed them beyond my reach. Unbleached cotton cloth 35¢ yd., and sugar brown, 55¢, labor (except school teaching and preaching) from \$5 to \$15 a day. . . . I must have help from some source or seek employment which offers vastly more than school teaching, and preaching. . . .

My house remains unclosed. Labor too high to employ anyone to work on it. I have finished the roof and two sides. Am working out of school hours. . . . I make my school furnish our bread, meat, sugar we do without and when our present supply of clothing sent from friends mostly is expended I trust the Lord will have a new supply in readiness. . . .¹⁰

The Walkers and the Eells settled at Oregon City at first and then moved to Forest Grove.¹¹

HOUSE DOCUMENT NO. 38

With the consent of Spalding, J. S. Griffin obtained the old mission press, which was at The Dalles at the

⁹ See *Minutes of Presbytery of Oregon*, in care of Prof. Wallace Lee, Albany, Oregon.

¹⁰ Coll. A.

¹¹ Samuel Walker, son of Rev. and Mrs. Elkanah Walker, now lives on the original Walker homestead at Forest Grove.

time of the Whitman massacre, and in the summer of 1848 began the publication of the *Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist*.¹² Only eight numbers appeared. The first was not dated, but evidently appeared the first part of June; the second bears the date of June 21, 1848; and the last number, May 25, 1849. For a time it was issued every two weeks. This paper, printed by his friend, gave Spalding the opportunity to unburden himself.

The report which Peter Ogden gave to Governor Abernathy was published in the *Oregon Spectator*, and it contained Spalding's letter to Bishop Blanchet of December 10, 1847. Spalding was greatly embarrassed over the publication of his letter to the Catholic Bishop. "It has been said," wrote Spalding, "by some of my friends in this country that they felt greatly mortified to see me in the dust, at the Bishop's feet begging my life."¹³

On February 8, 1848, Spalding wrote a letter to the *Oregon Spectator* in which he explained at some length the circumstances which induced him to write the letter of December 10. "The Indians had declared," he wrote, "that the Protestants should be murdered, but the Catholics spared. Was it unchristian to ask my life at their hands?" Spalding had also been criticized for his change of attitude as soon as he had been safely delivered. While a captive, he pleaded for peace, but when delivered, he even subscribed some of the Board's money to assist the punitive expedition. Spalding explained that he thought the unwritten phrase "until we are rescued" would be taken for granted. Moreover, all at Lapwai were unanimous that such a phrase should not be included for fear the letter would be intercepted by the Indians.

Spalding did not enjoy having his letter to the Bishop made public, and blamed the Bishop for it. He wrote:

¹² An incomplete file is in the Oregon Historical Society. The library of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, has a complete file. Also an incomplete file in the American Board rooms.

¹³ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 228 ff. Quoting from Spalding's letter of Feb. 8, 1848, to the *Oregon Spectator*, which that paper refused to publish.

I can conceive of no other object than a desire of the Bishop to show the worth of the influence which the Bishop supposes that he possesses in the Indian country. The language of the act sounds to me as follows: "Behold ye inhabitants of Oregon, especially ye adherents of the Catholic church, how speedy and complete is my victory. Arrived but yesterday, today you see a missionary of the heretics, who has been eleven years in the country, at my feet, begging his life and the life of his countrymen, held as slaves by the Indians. He feels my power and acknowledges it in the letter."¹⁴

The *Oregon Spectator* refused to be a channel for a religious quarrel, so Spalding was forced to look elsewhere for an opportunity to enlighten the public. At the time Griffin secured the mission press, Spalding was living in the Smith home near-by, and was undoubtedly a willing and eager assistant in the enterprise. The first number of Griffin's paper carried Spalding's letter of February 8, 1848, which the *Spectator* had rejected.

Other issues of this *Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist* carried more Spalding letters, in which Spalding accused the Catholics of being the instigators of the Whitman massacre. He emphasized the fact that the Catholic priests had been spared; that the priests had baptized members of the families of the murderers soon after the tragedy; that the Catholics were eager to get Wailatpu; and that by various ways the Catholics had urged the Indians on in their horrible purposes.

The incident of the publication of his letter of December 10, 1847, to the Bishop, seems to have brought Spalding's feelings toward the Catholics to a head, for his earlier letters describing the massacre do not contain these charges. His first letter, containing an account of the tragedy, was written January 8, 1848, and was directed to Greene, who had lengthy sections reprinted in the *Missionary Herald* of that year. The *Herald* contained the following editorial comment:

While there is no reason to suppose that the Romanists have had any direct agency in the massacre of Mr. and Mrs. Whitman, it is at least possible that they have said and done that which has had an unforeseen and undesigned connection with this melancholy event.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁵ *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 44, p. 237.

Walker did not share Spalding's views in regard to the part the Catholics may have played, consciously or unconsciously. On July 8, 1848, Walker wrote to Greene, saying:

Much might be said which led to this horrid massacre. Some doubtless attach too much blame to the Catholics. I am yet to be convinced that they had any direct agency in it . . . that they put the natives up to do the deed I do not believe.¹⁶

Spalding's attack upon the Catholics through Griffin's paper inspired Peter Burnett¹⁷ to reply. His letter appeared in the August 16 issue, and included the following:

This attack of the Indians was attributed by some persons, and especially by Mr. Spalding, to the instigation of the Catholic missionaries in that country. I thought the charge most unjust, and think so still. The charge was too horrible in its very nature to be believed unless the evidence was conclusive beyond a reasonable doubt. There were most ample grounds upon which to account for the massacre without accusing those missionaries of that horrible crime.

Unprejudiced opinion today accepts Burnett's analysis as being correct. Spalding unduly magnified certain coincidences, and made charges which could not be proved. Nothing can be said to justify him in this respect, although much might be said explaining how his anti-Catholic obsession grew. Unfortunately, this attitude of Spalding toward the Catholics has spread like a dark fog over the fine work of his earlier years, with the result that many have viewed his activities with prejudiced eyes.

Vice General Brouillet, who gave Spalding the warning which saved his life, was naturally aroused when he read Spalding's tirade against himself and Bishop Blanchet. Brouillet had undoubtedly warned Spalding at considerable personal risk, and felt that Spalding was most ungrateful. Brouillet issued a reply in a series of articles

¹⁶ Quoted by Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 240.

¹⁷ Burnett was in the 1843 emigration. See his *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer*. The gold fever drew him to California early in the fall of 1848, before he had completed his discussions with Spalding. He became the first governor of the State of California.

which was published in the New York *Freeman's Journal*¹⁸ in 1853 and subsequently issued in pamphlet form. The matter would have attracted little attention had it stopped there, but in 1857 J. Ross Browne visited Oregon, as special agent of the U. S. Treasury Department, to investigate the causes of the Indian wars in Oregon. On December 4, 1857, Browne wrote out his report in San Francisco, and attached to it Brouillet's pamphlet of some fifty-three pages. Browne claimed that he had no intention of having the pamphlet printed as a part of his report, but simply submitted it for the light it threw upon one aspect of the Indian question. Spalding claimed that Browne was a Catholic and a Jesuit, and that he deliberately included the Brouillet document.

In 1858, Browne's report, with Brouillet's pamphlet, appeared as Executive Document No. 38, U. S. House of Representatives, 35th Congress, 1st session.¹⁹ Spalding was stirred to the depths by the appearance of this document. For thirteen years he never ceased laboring to get the other side presented to the American public, in the same manner. Even as Spalding had been wild in some of his statements which appeared in Griffin's paper, so was Brouillet in his pamphlet. Both sides went to extremes. Spalding felt that Executive Document No. 38 was a slander upon the noble name of the Whitmans, and considered it a standing reproach against himself. He felt that the Government document was an insult against all of Protestantism, and especially against the missionary enterprise in the Pacific Northwest.

If people called Spalding crazy because of his anti-Catholic attitude, and if he is to be blamed for his part in the evolution of the Whitman-saved-Oregon story, let us be charitable enough to remember how the publication of this Government document rankled his soul. During these thirteen years Spalding had many unhappy contacts with Catholics, until the very mention of the word

¹⁸ The first edition of the pamphlet appeared in 1853 and the second edition in 1869. See J. B. A. Brouillet, *Authentic Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman*.

¹⁹ Spalding's letters to his wife, May 6, 1871, and to Mr. Hines, Aug. 2, 1871, Coll. O, state that about 65,000 of these documents were printed by the Government.

"Catholic" to him was like waving a red flag before an angry bull.

MRS. SPALDING DIES

Mrs. Spalding was in feeble health many times at Lapwai. The trip out of the upper Columbia country, in the winter of 1847-48, was a most trying experience, and after her arrival in the Willamette Valley she was never strong again. One of her letters, written from Calapooya on August 5, 1850, to her sister Lorena, tells of her suffering. She wrote:

I have suffered very much with sickness since we left the Nez Perce country. I think this climate is very unfavorable for diseased lungs & I cannot but feel that I shall not long survive our dear departed ones.²⁰

Doctors were few, and their fees were high. Once Spalding paid one hundred dollars to a physician who made one trip from Salem to Brownsville to see Mrs. Spalding.

Girls were few in Oregon, for the majority of the immigrants were men. They were in such great demand as wives that Mrs. Spalding found it next to impossible to find anyone to help in the home. "Girls here," she wrote to Lorena, "generally get married under seventeen years of age—often at 15, & sometimes at 13."²¹ Incidentally, this letter gives us some of the prices the Spaldings had to pay for provisions at that time. Butter was one dollar a pound; eggs a dollar a dozen; a small cook-stove, without the pipe, cost one hundred dollars; and other things in proportion. Oregon was experiencing a boom. The pioneer women worked as hard as did the men. "It is disgraceful," wrote Mrs. Spalding, "for a man or boy to be seen milking the cows."

²⁰ Coll. P.

²¹ Her own daughters were also married at an early age. Eliza married Andrew Jackson Warren on May 11, 1854, when in her seventeenth year; Martha married William Wigle on April 13, 1860, when she was fifteen years old; and Amelia married John Brown, on November 9, 1863, when she was nearly seventeen. See also Mrs. Eells's letter to "Sister Rogers," Mar. 27, 1851, Coll. W. "I do not now recollect any white young lady of my acquaintance who did not become a married lady before she was eighteen years of age."

In the fall of 1850, Governor John P. Gaines arrived in Oregon. Learning of Mrs. Spalding's declining health and also that she was the oldest woman resident of the Territory, he sent her a rocking chair, "to answer the double purpose of utility, and as a token of regard to the American lady longest in the country."²²

In the fall of 1850 Spalding visited the Rogue River country on business, but was called back because of the serious condition of his wife. It was evident that she would not live long. On several occasions during December and the early part of January, he thought she was dying. One day, thinking that the end was near, he called her brother, Horace Hart, to her bedside. She opened her eyes, and seeing her loved ones, quoted the following lines from the last stanza of the hymn, "O Could I Speak the Matchless Worth":

*Well, the delightful day will come
When my dear Lord will bring me home,
And I shall see his face.*

Her only regret, as she approached her end, was that she must leave her children, the youngest but four years old, motherless. Once the sun broke through the rain-filled clouds that hover over Oregon during the winter months, and flooded the sickroom with sunshine. Her husband pointed out the beauty, and said: "Soon you will look upon more beautiful skies," and she replied: "I have no fears as to that."

Her sufferings, the last few days of her life, were intense, and death came as a welcome release. "Her spirit was released," wrote Spalding to Treat, "on the 7th inst at a quarter past eleven A. M."²³ She was then forty-

²² Spalding Ms., Jan. 14, 1851, Coll. W. Also Spalding letter to Treat, Oct. 14, 1850. Coll. A.

²³ "It was a colonial custom that persisted for a long time to record the actual minute of deaths & births. Many early Bible records show such records."—F.C.W. Mrs. Eells's letter, Mar. 26, 1851, Coll. W: "She was very feeble for more than two years before her death. She had a severe cough most of the time. Mr. S. wrote that no disease was found upon her lungs. They appeared perfectly sound. Mr. S. thinks the fear, anxiety, fatigue consequent upon breaking up of the Mission were the original cause of her death."

three years, four months, and twenty-seven days old. Thus passed one of God's noblewomen. A fragrant memory of her consecration and devoted services lingers to this day among the Nez Percés.

The funeral services were held on Thursday, January 9, 1851, in the little schoolhouse at Calapooya, with the Rev. Mr. McKinney of the Methodist Church in charge. He took the following words from Revelation 14:13 as his text: "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth." They sang the hymn she loved: "O Could I Speak the Matchless Worth," and at the grave sang "Mount Hermon." Sympathizing neighbors and friends filled the schoolhouse to capacity.

They buried her body in the cemetery on a little hill to the east of Calapooya, and over her grave Spalding erected a stone monument which bore an inscription of about two hundred words. Set off in special lettering, so as to make it prominent, was the following statement:

*She always felt that the Jesuit Missionaries
were the leading cause of the massacre*

Thus Spalding took advantage even of a tombstone to proclaim his hatred of the Catholics.²⁴

Spalding found it hard to say goodby to the companion of so many years and hardships. On January 14 he began a letter to Treat with these words:

My dear brother in Christ, again I write amid the deep waters of affliction, again the fountains of grief are broken up. I write from a lonely room! My wife is not here. She lies cold in her grave! No I do wrong. She has gone to heaven. At this moment I seem to see her poor white hands, holding in one a golden harp whose angelic notes in harmony with united millions, floating upon the zephyrs of heaven, seem to call upon me to weep not for a wife dead, but to rejoice on account of a wife glorified.²⁵

He poured out his soul in that letter, which was never sent, until he had written nearly fifteen thousand words. He reviewed the history of the American Board mission in Oregon, and recounted his trials with the Catholics.

²⁴ The original bill for the tombstone is in Coll. W. The stone cost \$42.51, of which \$23.70 went for lettering. There were 948 letters.

²⁵ Coll. W.

The letter ended with a poem of four stanzas, very evidently of Spalding's composition.

THE DART AFFAIR

Spalding's financial condition was such that he was obliged to supplement the meager income he received from his school and his church. On June 24, 1850, Spalding was appointed Indian agent for Oregon, with an annual compensation of fifteen hundred dollars, which was to include all expenses.²⁶ Before accepting the appointment, Spalding consulted his brethren in the association of ministers, and wrote: "They came to the unanimous vote that I could not safely decline." Spalding was eager to return to the upper Columbia country, not only to renew his contacts with the Christian Nez Perces, but also to do all that was possible to secure the Board's claim to the two mission sites. Many people opposed his going. Of this Spalding wrote:

The Papists and H. B. are deady opposed to my being sent back by Government . . . Doct. McLoughlin our once apparently warm friend when he found the Indians really sentenced to death in his rage exposed the true state of his heart, said publicly and repeatedly that Doct. Whitman and Mrs. Whitman got just what they deserved." "That Spalding ought to be hung." . . . It may be that they will work far off through the officers of the army who it is said almost to a man use the same language with Doct. McL. and speak highly of the papists, to prevent my getting into the field. . . .²⁷

Even Walker and Eells were opposed to his appointment, although they hesitated to say so to his face. Eells wrote to Rev. S. L. Pomeroy of the American Board on January 1, 1851, saying: "We considered his natural precipitance a great objection to his being thus employed. But we could not advise him to decline." Eells advised the Board to dissolve all relationships with Spalding. "It might avoid the appearance of evil," he wrote, "if Mr. Walker and myself should be dismissed at the same time."²⁸

²⁶ Original signed by Zachary Taylor, Coll. W.

²⁷ Spalding to Treat, Oct. 14, 1850. Coll. A.

²⁸ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 241.

The Board acted upon the suggestion as far as their relationships with Spalding were concerned, and in the July number, 1851, of the *Missionary Herald*, announced that since Mr. Spalding had accepted the office of Indian Agent, "his connection with the Board has consequently terminated." The names of Walker and Eells, however, were continued in the list of missionaries for some time longer. Thus ended H. H. Spalding's official connection with the American Board.

The Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Dr. Anson Dart, arrived at Oregon City on Saturday, October 12, 1850. He and Spalding then constituted the entire Government staff for the Indian Agency in Oregon Territory. Dart had not been in Oregon very long before influential people waited upon him and persuaded him not to send Spalding back to the upper country. On October 14, 1850, Spalding wrote to Treat: "The Superintendent wishes me to remain in this lower country for the winter and perhaps until another can be appointed. I have consented but with the understanding that I shall go to our old field."

Spalding did not make a successful Indian agent. For one thing, the serious illness of his wife, and then his own illness, which confined him to his bed in the spring of 1851 for several weeks, made it impossible for him to fulfill all his duties. Dart's refusal to send Spalding back to the upper Columbia country undoubtedly aroused Spalding's resentment to such a degree that harmonious relations between the two were thereafter impossible. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that his services were not acceptable to Dart. As early as January 19, 1851, Walker wrote to Treat, saying: "His course does not meet with the approval of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs and the officers of the Government."²⁹

On February 14, 1851, Spalding wrote to Treat and informed him that Robert Newell, "a Catholic in sympathy and an agent of the H. B. Co" had been appointed agent for the upper country. "Thus," declared Spalding, "our hopes for the recommencement of our mission

²⁹ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 242.

which were so sudden and so high are as suddenly and completely dashed to the ground."³⁰

On May 20, 1851, Dart wrote to the Department of Interior requesting the appointment of E. A. Starling as Spalding's successor, saying that he needed someone who would "be willing to render the Government some equivalent for the salary received."³¹ It appears that one quarter of Spalding's salary was held back by Dart, and it was not until Joel Palmer was installed as Dart's successor in 1853, that Spalding was able to get it.

Spalding was naturally much disturbed over the turn of events, and gave expression to his feelings by writing to both Treat and to the American Home Missionary Society. In these letters, Spalding accused Dart of making a treaty with the Indians of the "middle district" (that is, between the Cascade and the Blue Mountains) in which an article was inserted which forbade any "American" (that is, Protestant) missionary ever entering the country. The following is an extract from his letter to the A. H. M. S.:

I lifted up my lamentations amid the wild roar of the ocean's waves . . . I wept for the poor Nez Perces . . . as I called to mind the many years of hard labor, etc. . . . all apparently laid a sacrifice at the bloody shrine of the papacy, by the baptized hands of an American officer, husband of a Presbyterian wife!³²

Spalding's letter, with the charges against Dart, was printed in the April, 1852 issue of the *Home Missionary*. It so happened that Dr. Dart was in New York when this issue of the magazine appeared. He resented the charges, called upon the editors, and demanded a retraction. The next issue of the *Home Missionary* carried a letter of denial over his signature.

In the meantime, other church publications reprinted the story, so that it was given wide publicity, and it

³⁰ Spalding's letters to Treat are in Coll. A.

³¹ *House Ex. Doc.*, 32nd Congress, 1st Sess., Vol. 2, Part 3, p. 472. This same document, pp. 359-361, gives a report of Samuel Allis at the Bellevue Agency. Allis wrote: "I now close my situation as teacher, regretting that so little has been done for their benefit."

³² Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 243, quotes from *Home Missionary*.

aroused great indignation among Christian people. The matter assumed such proportions that Millard Fillmore, then President of the United States, wrote to James S. Wallace, editor of the *Philadelphia Daily Sun*, on April 6, 1852, saying:

My Dear Sir—Your favor of the 1st inst, duly came to hand, informing me that "attention has been painfully directed to a letter from the Rev. H. H. Spalding, late missionary of the American Board to the Oregon Indians," in which he states that, upon the arrival of the Superintendent last June, a treaty was formed with the tribes of the Middle District, an article of which provides "that no American (i. e. Protestant) missionary shall ever again enter their country."

The treaties which have recently been negotiated have not been sent up to me, I had no knowledge of their contents, and therefore immediately referred your letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for information on the subject to which it alludes. I have just received a letter from him, in which he says, "I am reluctant to believe that Mr. Spalding has made the statement imputed to him, as it is entirely destitute of truth. There have been thirteen treaties negotiated with the Indians of Oregon by the Superintendent, the first dated August 5th, the last November 6th, 1851. All, except the last, bear the signature of Mr. Spalding himself, who was associated with the Superintendent in their negotiation. In no one of the whole number is there any provision whatever, that gives the slightest resemblance of truth to Mr. Spalding's statement."

As this mistake of Mr. Spalding's seems to have been propagated to the prejudice of the Administration, I will thank you if you will contradict it in your paper. Your obedient servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

The editor prefaced the letter with the statement that "Mr. Spalding had in some way been wholly misinformed."

The secretaries of the American Home Missionary Society were much embarrassed over the turn of events, and on April 26, 1852, one of them wrote to Spalding and demanded an explanation. "As the matter stands now," he wrote, "your credibility is involved & it will be necessary for you to give a specific account of the facts & the evidence."³³

³³ Hall to Spalding, April 26, 1852, with clipping from the *Philadelphia Daily Sun*. Coll. W.

In January, 1853, Spalding wrote, saying that his explanation would be printed in the *Christian Observer*. The explanation never appeared. Finally, on March 7, 1855, one of the secretaries wrote again saying that since no explanation appeared, the Board had therefore "deemed it proper not to make any further recognition of your appointment as a missionary till your vindication should in some way get before the public. . . . At the end of the year for which you were appointed your name was dropped from the list of missionaries as is done in all other cases."³⁴ Spalding was again discharged, this time by a mission board.

The whole Dart affair seemingly reflects upon the honor and integrity of Mr. Spalding. But there is another side to the story. The fact that Dart kept Spalding out of the upper Columbia country when Spalding was the only Protestant missionary trying to get back, was the basis for Spalding's claims. On December 27, 1851, Spalding wrote to Treat: "Dr. Dart told me he had made such a treaty with his own mouth." It is possible that Spalding's accusations were based upon his own experience and this reported remark of Dart's.

It may be, however, that there was something more. On July 24, 1855, Rev. G. H. Atkinson, of Oregon City, wrote to Joel Palmer, who was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, and made the following reference to the Dart case:

You informed me that you had found something to that effect in the archives of your office among the Dart papers. You also said that you would furnish me a copy of that item. I suppose it had escaped your memory, and I beg you to furnish me a copy now.³⁵

In October of 1857, Spalding wrote to the American Board, saying: "The Association I suppose have made known to you the fact that they have examined the records of Dr. Dart, left in the Superintendent's office, and find that my statement was true and that the statements of Fillmore and Dart are not true."³⁶ The fact that the

³⁴ Coll. W.

³⁵ Atkinson to Palmer, July 24, 1855, Coll. W.

³⁶ Spalding to American Board, Oct., 1857, Coll. A.

American Home Missionary Society commissioned Spalding as a missionary in Oregon for 1857, with a salary of five hundred dollars per annum, also points to the conclusion that Spalding was able to vindicate himself.

LATER SPALDING CORRESPONDENCE

The Whitman College collection contains many letters which the Spaldings received during this period, 1848-1870. Space forbids giving a lengthy review of their contents, but a few items of pertinent interest will not be out of place. Great progress had been made in the transmission of mail to and from the Pacific coast, so that Mrs. Spalding in her letter of 1850 wrote: "Papers & letters are now received in less than two months from the time they leave the States." This facilitated correspondence, and inspired many of Spalding's old friends of Steuben County, New York, to write.

The collection contains two letters from his old pastor of Prattsburg days, Rev. James H. Hotchkiss. One is dated August 5, 1850, and the other November 20, 1850. In the former we may read: "Since you went to Oregon I have received one or two letters from you which I have never answered." The letter is filled with newsy items about old friends and acquaintances.

The Allens of Kinsman, Ohio, wrote on August 14, 1847, saying: "Two lines of Electric Telegraph are now finishing from the East, one from N. York along the Lake Shore & one from Phila through Pittsburgh . . . so that by next year they can *talk* between St. Louis & Boston." Many of these letters speak of the wonders of the new inventions, which we now accept as commonplace.

There is one letter of special interest, for it bears a reference to Spalding's father, who was then living at Troy, Pennsylvania. It was written by Mr. Paine, of Troy, and is dated January 6, 1852.

Your father and his brother John are both enjoying good health. July Ann and her husband live at the old homestead at Athens making a very comfortable (home) for her father.³⁷

³⁷ The Paine letter makes no mention of Mrs. Howard Spalding, although she was alive at the time. It appears that Paine knew that Mrs. Howard Spalding was not the mother of H. H. Spalding.

Julia Ann was the daughter of John Spalding, and therefore a cousin of Henry Spalding. She was married to the Presbyterian minister at Athens, in whose home Spalding later was a guest. Sometime during 1858 H. H. Spalding must have heard of the death of his father, which occurred December 17, 1857.

The Whitman collection contains fifteen letters from Rev. S. B. Treat, who succeeded David Greene in the American Board offices, in the fall of 1848. Treat's first letter was dated September 28, 1848. These letters deal mostly with the problem of settling up the affairs of the missions of Lapwai, Tshimakain, and Wailatpu. The board made a strong effort to collect damages from the Government, but failed. Spalding took the lead in acting as the Board's representative in Oregon in these business matters.³⁸ Dart had visited Lapwai and Wailatpu in June, 1850, and reported that since the Spaldings had voluntarily abandoned the Lapwai mission no compensation should be given for Spalding's claim. Treat wrote on October 16, 1852: "It seems to me the case is settled against us." Dart's recommendation roused Spalding again!

SPALDING REMARRIES

One day Spalding wrote to J. H. Hotchkin, son of his pastor, who had died January 3, 1852, and asked if he knew someone who might be a suitable companion, and mother of his children. On April 15, 1852, Hotchkin replied, saying:

As a good mother for your children and companion for yourself my mind does not yet rest upon any one but what has some encumbrance either widows with children here or maiden ladies who have aged parents depending on them. Were you here I have no doubt you could suit yourself.³⁹

A few days earlier in that same month, or on April 12, the sister of Mrs. J. S. Griffin, whose name was Miss

³⁸ Eells to Greene, July 22, 1850, explains why Spalding acted alone in the business matters: "Mr. Spalding does not possess very largely of a cooperative disposition."

³⁹ Coll. W.

Rachel Jahonnet Smith, wrote to the Central Congregational Church at Boston the following note:

Beloved Brethren: As I am about to leave Boston, for a residence in Oregon I shall be obliged if you will grant me a dismission from this Church, and a recommendation to the orthodox Church under the care of Rev. Mr. Atkinson, in Oregon City, or to any other orthodox Church in Oregon.⁴⁰

Upon Miss Smith's arrival in Oregon, in the fall of 1852, she joined the First Congregational Church of Tualatin Plains, over which her brother-in-law, Rev. J. S. Griffin, served as pastor. Miss Smith was born in Boston, Massachusetts, January 31, 1808, and was, therefore, forty-three years old when she met Spalding. Her letters show that she was a woman of limited education. People who remember her say that she was a large woman, with rather coarse features, but one who was truly devoted to her husband.

Matilda Sager has given us the only known account of Spalding's second romance and marriage, in the following words:

Mrs. Griffin had a sister, Rachel Smith; the Griffins arranged a match between her and Rev. Henry Spalding and she came out from Boston to marry him. We were invited to the wedding, which occurred in a schoolhouse used for a church, and the "infare" was arranged to be held at Mrs. Griffin's the next day.

I had never been to a wedding and I had a great desire to go; so I went to the wedding in preference to going to the infare, since I had my choice. Mr. Griffin performed the ceremony. Mr. Spalding preached the sermon and Mr. Griffin played the organ and sang. The bride was attired in a white dress and a long, thin scarf with purple stripes in the ends and fringe and she had on a rough straw bonnet. Mrs. Griffin called it "Rachel's Dunstable bonnet." When they were ready for the ceremony, Mr. Spalding stepped forward and Mrs. Griffin placed her sister by his side, putting Miss Smith's hand in his; they stood there a little while and Mr. Griffin said the words that made them man and wife. That was my first wedding.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Coll. W.

⁴¹ Matilda J. Sager Delaney, *The Whitman Massacre*, pp. 32-33. This pamphlet is rare. Matilda was fourteen years old at the time of this wedding.

Following Mrs. Rachel Spalding's death at Hillsboro, Oregon, on April 28, 1880, the following marriage certificate was found among her papers:

To whom it may concern, this certifies that on Sabbath, the 15th of May, 1853, I married in the presence of the congregation in Divine Worship assembled in Tualatin Plains, Rev. Henry H. Spalding and Miss Rachel Johnnot Smith.

JOHN S. GRIFFIN

*Minister of the Gospel.*⁴²

On July 3, 1853, Spalding received his wife into the First Church of Oregon, "as it stands transferred from the Nez Perce country to this Linn Co. O. T." The minute book also records the following: "On the same day Martha Jane the beloved daughter of the Pastor age 9 years was received by profession of her faith in Christ." A month later, Henry, then fourteen years old, was received. Amelia joined on June 28, 1857, when Spalding wrote: "This is my youngest child and the third one who has made public profession of their faith in Christ." The minute book contains no record of Eliza's joining the church.⁴³

SPALDING MOVES TO THE TOUCHET

Spalding made his home at Calapooya for about ten years, during all of which time he hungered to return to his Nez Percés. For several years after the massacre it was not deemed safe for the missionaries to return, but after about 1855, this possibility was discussed. On January 1, 1855, Eells wrote to Treat regarding the advisability of reëstablishing the Nez Perce mission, saying:

I should dislike to bear the responsibility of answering decisively the question which you have proposed in relation to Mr. Spalding. This much I may say, he has not been a discreet, prudent missionary—is often precipitous. He appears to suffer from mental or moral obliquity, which has occasion much reproach.⁴⁴

⁴² From a clipping owned by Mrs. J. Thorburn Ross of Portland, taken from *News-Times*, Forest Grove, Oregon.

⁴³ *Minutes Synod of Wash.*, 1903, p. 260.

⁴⁴ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 244.

Eells felt that Spalding was "deficient" in the qualities which make a successful missionary. On August 15, 1857, Eells wrote a second time on the same subject, and gave the same advice. Walker was of the same mind, for on December 7, 1857, he wrote to Treat:

As you ask the question, "Would you advise me to send Mr. Spalding to the Nez Perces?" I will answer as frankly as you ask the question I would not at present advise it. I deem him wholly unfitted in body and mind.⁴⁵

As far as the American Board was concerned, he never returned under their auspices. While Eells and Walker were writing, advising the Board not to send Spalding back, Rev. G. H. Atkinson, who became pastor of the First Congregational Church of Portland, Oregon, was urging the Board to send him back. Atkinson argued that it would be easier to get the mission claim approved by the Government if the mission premises were reoccupied.⁴⁶ Dart's claim that the Spaldings had voluntarily abandoned their mission in 1847 threatened to nullify the Board's right to the mission property.

In October, 1857, Spalding wrote a long letter to Treat on the subject of his possible return, from which the following extracts are taken:

I have ever desired to return, have never felt at home among the whites. They (the Indians) have sent every year for me to return, have begged to have the mission renewed. This year they sent a trader who has been among them several years to visit me and try to persuade me to return. He . . . says very many appear to be devout Christians, the sabbath is observed by the whole nation far more strictly than by any white community. . . .

I hope you will renew the mission. I should advise to send two families for the Nez Perces, one a preacher and the other a physician, man and woman, who have the love of Christ in their heart and consequently will not be frightened at greasy, painted Indians, lice, flees, grey hair, staying alone, hard work, work, dirty work.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

⁴⁷ Coll. A. Spalding letter No. 64 makes the following reference to fleas: "It was too dark and raining too hard to pitch my tent and obtain wood, therefore went into an Indian lodge and got what I expected, a good supply of lice and flees for the rest of my journey."

In this letter Spalding repeated the charge that Dart had kept the Protestant missionaries from going into the upper country, while permitting the Catholic missionaries to remain. Spalding was eager for more workers to be appointed. He had learned that his old home, the mill, and some other buildings were still standing at Lapwai. The printing shop, however, had been burned by accident. The Board took no action on Spalding's request.

By 1859, settlers were moving into the upper Columbia country and staking out their claims. His daughter Eliza's husband, A. J. Warren, was a cattleman, and had taken out a claim that summer on the Touchet River,⁴⁸ about fifteen miles down the river from the place where the trail from Waiilatpu to Lapwai crossed. Spalding followed his son-in-law and staked out his claim that same summer.⁴⁹

One day soon after the Warrens had arrived, Eliza saw a cloud of dust coming up the trail. Her first impulse, when she realized that Indians were approaching, was to take her two babies and hide, but when she saw that they were Nez Perces, all fear vanished. The Indians dropped from their horses and crowded around her, some speaking in their native language, and a few in English. Eliza had forgotten the Nez Perce tongue, to the great disappointment of the Indians.

Among them was old Timothy. Years later, when Eliza wrote her *Memoirs*, she told this interesting story:

They speak of Timothy's conversion under the teaching of my mother. In asking the blessing over his meals, he would end with these words, "In the name of Jesus Christ and Mrs. Spalding." Her memory was very precious to confiding old Timothy.⁵⁰

The Nez Perces, learning from Eliza that Mr. Spalding was due in a few days, camped until he arrived. "I

⁴⁸ Spalding sometimes spelled it "Tusha."

⁴⁹ Original title, Donation certificate No. 2418, June 1, 1849, issued Sept. 27, 1850. Coll. W.

⁵⁰ Warren, *Memoirs*, p. 35. Walker did not have such a favorable opinion of Timothy. In his letter to Treat of Dec. 7, 1858, he wrote: "Timothy was one of the wildest in the war dance which was acted out at that time," that is, in June, 1850.

do not suppose," wrote Eliza, "there had hardly anything transpired since we had left them in 1847 till then but what was mentioned. And they were so anxious for father to return to them." Spalding, with his two youngest daughters, arrived about the 18th of August, and found the Nez Perces waiting for him. Such a meeting, after years of separation, brought tears to the eyes of many of the Indians. On September 8, 1859, Spalding wrote to his friend A. T. Smith, saying: "They are to have a meeting soon to determine whether I shall be teacher or not, nothing in the way on their part. Expect to visit their country in some 3 weeks."⁵¹

Spalding settled on a claim about two and a half miles below the Warren claim. His brother-in-law, Horace Hart, settled in the same vicinity, where his descendants still reside. These claims were near what is now Prescott, Washington. Spalding then had about one hundred sheep and cattle. His wife and son were expected to arrive about the 20th of October.

Spalding lived for three years on the Touchet, engaged in farming and stock-raising. Very little is known of the activities of those years. In his letter to Smith, written about three weeks after he arrived on the Touchet, he stated that he had already established two preaching places, "one at home & one at the town (Waiilatpu) 18 miles distant." By that time the Hudson's Bay Company had given up its post at Fort Walla Walla, and a new post by that name had been established by the United States Government within a few miles of Waiilatpu. The city which grew up around that post took the name of Walla Walla. In 1860, Eells, having secured title to the Waiilatpu site, moved there, and began farming. Later he was instrumental in establishing an academy called Whitman Seminary, which was chartered in 1859, later becoming Whitman College. Spalding was one of the first trustees of this institution, but never took an active part in its affairs.

From the meager source material bearing on these

⁵¹ Spalding to Smith, Sept. 8, 1859, Coll. S. The Indians, unable to give a correct pronunciation of Spalding's name, called him in his old age "Old Spooley."

three years, we learn that Spalding was commissioned Justice of the Peace for the lower Touchet precinct on April 12, 1862. Gold was discovered in the Clearwater Valley in 1860, not far from where Spalding got the granite for his millstones. On November 9, 1861, Spalding wrote to his friend, A. T. Smith, and suggested that he and Smith join forces with Geiger in working a gold mine. He wrote: "Mr. Geiger wishes to have 2 or 3 religious partners that we may enjoy ourselves, observe the Sabbath, & strengthen each other."⁵² Spalding planned to go on this gold-digging expedition in the spring of 1862. Nothing has been found to show whether or not these plans materialized. The assumption is that they did not.

SPALDING RETURNS TO LAPWAI

An undated Spalding manuscript in the Whitman collection gives us the following information:

A solemn contract was entered into by the Supt. of Ind. Affairs under Pres. Buchanan [1857-1861] and the agent for the A. Board, that Ind. Department should have a given sum for the use of the Lapwai Station, with its mill race, mill stones, irrigating ditch, orchard, farm and buildings and location for catching timber, for 20 years from /55 on the one hand and the A Board should have the schools at the Agency and control of the religious instruction of the Ind. as formerly. The mills and buildings at the Agency were commenced under this contract and I left my comfortable home in Linn County in 1859.

If this be correct, then it appears that Spalding left Calapooya with the expectation of returning to Lapwai. The first Indian agent appointed for the Nez Perces was John Cain, who received his commission January 4, 1854.⁵³ Just when the Agency was established at Lapwai is not known.⁵⁴ Spalding definitely states that the Government had an agreement with the American Board regarding the use of the mission property. Spalding's mill

⁵² Spalding to Smith, Nov. 9, 1861. Coll. S.

⁵³ See Appendix 2 for list of U. S. Indian agents for the Nez Perces.

⁵⁴ A letter in the files of the Office of Indian Affairs from B. F. Kendall, dated January 2, 1862, states that Cain had the Agency buildings constructed, but did not himself reside at Lapwai.

was evidently found to be inadequate, for the Government erected a new mill on the mission site.

It may be that Spalding left his Oregon home in 1859 with the expectation of then going to Lapwai to take up the educational and religious work among the Nez Perces on his own responsibility. Perhaps it was understood that the Government was to give some compensation for the educational work. Our information is indefinite on this point. The Nez Perces seem to have been eager for Spalding to return. "The Agent Hutchins wrote me," said Spalding to his friend Smith on November 9, 1861, "that I should not be appointed even if the Indians all wanted me."⁵⁵ Hutchins appears to have been successful in keeping Spalding from the work.

Sometime during the summer of 1862, Agent Hutchins died.⁵⁶ His successor, J. W. Anderson, was friendly to Spalding as was C. H. Hale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory. On September 19, 1862, Cushing Eells wrote to Spalding saying that it was Hale's purpose "to give yourself the situation of teacher to them." Mr. Hale had then recently visited the Nez Perce reservation and found the Indians very discontented. He advised Spalding to wait for a time before endeavoring to return.⁵⁷

Perrin Whitman had been employed at the Agency as interpreter under Hutchins, but when Anderson came, Whitman was discharged. About this time we notice an antipathy between Spalding and Perrin Whitman. In all of the difficulties that Spalding had with the Agency people, we can always find Spalding and Whitman on opposite sides. Very few men were then qualified to serve as interpreters for the Lapwai Indian agent. Both Spalding and Whitman qualified for the position. When one was in favor, the other was not. Whitman served under Hutchins, and it appears that Spalding served in this capacity under Anderson in addition to his regular school duties.

⁵⁵ Coll. S.

⁵⁶ *T.O.P.A.*, 1897, p. 116. Anderson's name is not given in the list of Lapwai Agents as found in Appendix 2. Perhaps he was not officially appointed even though he had the duties.

⁵⁷ Coll. W.

It was a great day for Spalding when he returned to Lapwai. In a letter dated February 22, 1865, J. W. Anderson wrote to Rev. G. H. Atkinson the following description of Spalding's return:

At the time of his arrival a great part of the tribe was collected at the Agency and I must say they seemed highly delighted at seeing Mr. Spalding again. This was more particularly the case with many of the old Indians who had known Mr. S. when he came amongst them as a missionary many years before. They seemed most pleased at the prospect of having a school started amongst them & also of having a minister who could preach to them in their own language.

Every Sabbath the Indians in great numbers attended Mr. S's preaching & I was greatly astonished at the orderly & dignified deportment of the congregation. Although Mr. S had been absent from the tribe many years yet they retained all the forms of worship that he had taught them.⁵⁸

Anderson was of the opinion that Spalding, through his labors with the Nez Perces, had "accomplished more good than all the money expended by Government has been able to effect."

TESTIMONIES OF APPRECIATION

Other observers have given similar testimonies of appreciation for the work of lasting good which Spalding had wrought among the Nez Perces. Major Alvord, once in command of troops at The Dalles, wrote:

In the spring of 1853 a white man who had passed the previous winter in the Nez Perce country came in to the military post at the Dalles of the Columbia and on being questioned as to the manners and customs of the tribe, he said that he wintered with a band of several hundred in number and that the whole party assembled *every morning and evening* for prayers, the exercises being conducted by one of the tribe in their own language. He stated that on Sunday they assembled in like manner for exhortation and worship. The writer of this communication made repeated inquiries, and these accounts have been confirmed by the statements of others who have resided among the Nez Perces.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *Senate Ex. Doc.* No. 37, p. 7.

⁵⁹ Copy of letter from Maj. Alvord to Dea. Proctor, written in 1853 or 1854 in Coll. O. Maj. Alvord was in command of The Dalles post up to July, 1854.

At the time of the 1855 treaty, signed at Walla Walla by the Government with the Cayuses and Nez Perces, "it was found that about one-third of the three thousand Nez Perces kept up regular family and public worship."⁶⁰ Timothy was the leader in this. Faithful old Timothy!⁶¹ Certainly it is true that during the Yakima Indian War which came in 1855-56, the Nez Perces remained loyal and faithful to the Government and rendered valuable service to the whites.

Many prominent white men who saw Spalding's influence with the Nez Perces during the time of his second residence at Lapwai were astonished and spoke in glowing terms of what they had witnessed. On Sunday, January 31, 1864, Spalding conducted a service for the Nez Perces when a number of distinguished guests were present, including Hon. Caleb Lyon,⁶² second Governor of the Territory of Idaho;⁶³ Alex Smith, Judge First Judicial District; and many other Federal officers. Judge Smith wrote:

The scene was deeply solemn and interesting; the breathless silence, the earnest, devout attention of that great Indian congregation (even the small child) to the words of their much-loved pastor . . . the earnest pathetic voice of the native Christians whom Mr. Spalding called upon to pray—all, all, deeply and solemnly impressed that large congregation of white spectators even to tears. It would be better to-day, a thousand times over, if Government would do away with its policy that is so inefficiently carried out, and only lend its aid to a few such men as Mr. Spalding, whose whole heart is in the business, who has but one desire, and that to civilize and christianize the Indians.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ *T.O.P.A.*, 1897, pp. 115-116.

⁶¹ Timothy lived at Alpowa (which means Sabbath-rest) where today the bridge which spans the stream is dedicated to his memory. The tradition that Timothy saved Colonel Steptoe and his men when surrounded by hostile Indians is questioned by Fuller, *History of the Pacific Northwest*, p. 248.

⁶² Spalding, *Pacific*, June 15, 1865, quoting from Lyon's article in *Golden Age*, Lewiston, of Nov. 16, 1864: "Through the self-abnegating labors of this good old man, these aborigines, we feel safe in saying, have benefited more than by all the thousands of outlay by Government. Their savage natures are changed in his presence, and from the chiefs to the humblest, they obey and respect him as dutiful children a father."

⁶³ Idaho was made a Territory in 1863, with the capital at Lewiston. It attained statehood in 1890.

⁶⁴ *Senate Ex. Doc.*, 37, p. 7.

To this letter George Abernathy, first Governor of Oregon, General Joel Palmer, and A. Hinman added: "I concur."

It was with great joy that Spalding returned to resume the work that he had so well started. The vitality of the faith manifested by the Nez Perces during the fourteen and a half years that he had been absent from Lapwai is testimony in itself of Spalding's influence.⁶⁵ On May 12, 1863, Hale notified Mrs. Spalding that she was appointed teacher, at a salary of eight hundred dollars per annum, which was retroactive to April 1st of that year.⁶⁶

THE COUNCIL OF 1863

The discovery of gold within the boundaries of the Nez Perce reservation, and the desire of the white men for some of the Indian lands, brought complications; so the Government drew up a new treaty in 1863, which it asked the Nez Perces to sign. The negotiations were held at Lapwai in June, 1863, but the Indians refused to go into council until Perrin Whitman was present as interpreter. Both Spalding and Craig were present, but the Indians insisted on Whitman. This fact has often been quoted by critics of Spalding to show that the Indians had no faith in him.

When we remember, however, that the treaty took the Wallowa Valley away from Joseph's band, it is easy to understand their objection to the treaty. According to one authority, Joseph was present at the time but refused to sign or go into council over the matter.⁶⁷ There was a strained feeling between Old Joseph and Spalding, for had not members of Old Joseph's lodge looted the Spalding home at the time of the Whitman massacre?

⁶⁵ Spalding, *Pacific*, June 22, 1865: "I found, on my return, as Superintendent of Instruction under Government in 1862, after an absence of fourteen years, that about two-thirds of the native church had died, one only had apostatized to gambling and one to the heathen party, but the rest have held out firm by the help of God. . . ."

⁶⁶ Original, Coll. W.

⁶⁷ *History of Northern Idaho*, p. 45. Old Joseph died in 1871 and lies buried in the Wallowa Valley.

This strained feeling would have given ample reason for some of the Indians to object to Spalding as an interpreter.

A treaty was drawn up which some of the Nez Perces signed. Others refused. As a result the Nez Perce tribe was divided into the treaty and the nontreaty groups. This division more or less coincided with the Christian and the "heathen"⁶⁸ parties, the Christian being the treaty party and the "heathen" the nontreaty. Under young Chief Joseph, the nontreaty Indians took up arms against the Government in 1877.

SPALDING IN DISFAVOR

About the time of the Indian council of 1863 or soon afterwards, Spalding and two of his friends, C. A. Thatcher and Morgan, located claims on the north bank of the Clearwater a few miles east of the present site of Lewiston, on which they proceeded to build their cabins and other buildings. Since they built within the limits of the reservation, the Commanding Officer of the Agency sent some of his men to tear down the building and throw the logs in the river, which was done.⁶⁹

Whitman remained at Lapwai following the council of 1863, and at once friction developed between him and Spalding. During the winter of 1863-64, both Mr. and Mrs. Spalding taught school at Lapwai, although according to the testimony of John B. Monteith, who became Indian Agent at Lapwai in 1871, the school was not a success.⁷⁰ On July 16, 1864, James O'Neil was appointed Agent, and the outlook became dark for Spalding. Spalding's fortunes changed with the departure of Anderson. "The only friends we had left at the Agency," wrote Spalding to his daughter Eliza on August 31, 1864, "had

⁶⁸ The term "heathen" is still used without apology by the Nez Perces to designate the non-Christians.

⁶⁹ The exact time of this incident is uncertain. Eells, *T.O.P.A.*, 1897, p. 116, infers that this took place before Anderson took over the duties. Mulkey to Geary, Mar. 22, 1872, Coll. S, states it was after 1863 council.

⁷⁰ Monteith to Indian Office. Dec. 22, 1871, Old Indian Files, Washington, D. C.

been driven away and we had for a long time been treated worse than dogs."⁷¹

Spalding was forced out of his home and his school. Things went so badly that Spalding finally decided to leave. About that time President Lincoln appointed Caleb Lyon governor of Idaho Territory.⁷² Lyon visited Lapwai to investigate conditions. He was given a petition signed by Whitman and others, begging the Governor to remove Spalding.

It so happened that Governor Lyon came from Oneida County, New York, from which county had come the first Mrs. Spalding. Lyon knew of the pioneer labors of the Spaldings, and professed the greatest admiration for the veteran missionary. The petition asking for Spalding's removal had a very different effect from what the petitioners expected. Spalding wrote to his daughter from Lewiston telling what happened:

He repaired at once to Lapwai & told the petitioners that he wanted no instructions about Mr. Spalding, he knew him, and turning to me he threw his arms around my neck and exclaimed "You are the father of this country and the apostle of this people, and you shall have a place here for life if you wish."⁷³

Lyon then demanded that Spalding be given the best house on the grounds for his home;⁷⁴ that his orchard be fenced; the schoolhouse restored; and ordered the erection of a stone church on the site of the meeting house that Spalding had built in 1843.⁷⁵ Lyon declared that he would inscribe over the portals of the new church the names of Spalding and Whitman. "Truly," wrote the happy Spalding, "this great revolution in my favor is the work of God. . . . Lincoln⁷⁶ has redeemed himself in my estimation."

⁷¹ Coll. W.

⁷² Brosnan, *Idaho*, p. 231. Lyon is described as "the most erratic and picturesque figure in the annals of Idaho Territory."

⁷³ Original, Coll. W.

⁷⁴ Perhaps it was then that he took the central apartment of the long building.

⁷⁵ The stone church was never completed. The walls were raised seven or eight feet, the ruins of which can still be seen. The unfinished building was called "Lyon's Folly." The building measured 30 x 50 feet, the same as the original meeting house.

⁷⁶ Previously Spalding had written in uncomplimentary terms of Lincoln.

SPALDING ORDERED FROM LAPWAI

Under the new lease of life given by Governor Lyon, Spalding remained at Lapwai for another year, but conditions were not conducive to happiness. Lapwai was not big enough for both Spalding and Perrin Whitman. O'Neil was a Catholic. This fact alone would have made Spalding suspicious of him. Details are lacking as to just what happened, but this we know: Spalding was dismissed in the summer or early fall of 1865, and the school was closed.

For the second time Spalding was obliged to leave his old mission station. Nearly eighteen years before, because of the Whitman massacre, he felt it best to withdraw to the Willamette Valley. The second time he went because of unfriendly government officials. He was then nearly sixty-two years old when he turned his back upon Lapwai and again retreated to Oregon. Spalding was an individualist who did his best work alone. Eells was right when he wrote saying that Spalding did not possess the "cooperative disposition" to a very large degree.

The following extracts from Spalding's letter of November 15, 1865, written at Lapwai to Treat, reveal the darkness of those days for Spalding:

I am starved out and crowded out; every possible annoyance both by whites and Indians . . . salary cut off and back salary not paid for two years. Only one little room for self and wife to live, to sleep, cook, eat. . . . It is a shameful disgrace to the Black Republican party and to the Amer. Govt. . . . The Catholic priests, supposing I had left as soon as dismissed, sent by the Government as it turned out, came here, the agent called the head chief and several other chiefs. The Priest told the Lawyer, head chief, "as Mr. Spalding has not collected your children and taught them and has done you no good, you better let us come as your missionaries . . ."

Lawyer and the Indians refused to request the Catholics to come. Spalding was finally obliged to leave, but he went away with a bitter heart. He was the only Protestant missionary in all of Old Oregon working with Indians, and yet he was driven from his mission, and denied the right of working with his Nez Perces. At the

same time he saw the Catholic missionaries working unmolested, their "15 claims" intact, having suffered from no government interference.

The dates of his movements for the next several years are vague and uncertain. The Whitman collection contains a letter written from "Mullan Bridge" on the Touchet, "June, 1866," which leads us to believe that he tarried in that vicinity for a time to visit friends and relatives. Eventually he went back to Brownsville (Calapooya), where he again established his home, and lived until 1870.

SPALDING'S WILL

On September 4, 1866, Spalding signed his will, with Horace Hart as one of the witnesses. He willed about \$4,000.00, due him in outstanding notes, to his wife, together with some personal property and rights in real estate. Each of his four children was remembered. His son Henry was allowed one hundred dollars "for two trips to Lewiston to visit me when sick in 1863" and another sum of like amount "for bringing self and wife from Lapwai in 1865 and paying all our charges."⁷⁷

The necessity of leaving Lapwai the second time rested heavily upon the pioneer missionary, but he would not acknowledge defeat. He returned to Oregon, and launched a counter-attack upon his new enemies, through the public press and from the lecture platform.

⁷⁷ Copy in Coll. W. Original, if filed in the county courthouse, Lewiston, Idaho, after his death in 1874, was burned about twenty-five years ago. Court records show that Mrs. Spalding was appointed executrix of the estate Sept. 14, 1874.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

"BLESS THE LORD, OH MY SOUL"

Spalding's day on earth was one of sunshine and shadow, which ended in a blaze of glory, with just enough clouds in the sky at sunset time to catch and hold the colored rays. After learning of his difficulties and trials and handicaps, it is comforting to read about the tremendous successes which crowned his declining years, and which caused him to cry out again and again: "Bless the Lord, oh my soul!"

THE LAPWAI CLAIM

The American Board's title to the mission site at Lapwai was clouded by the Government's claim that the Spaldings had voluntarily abandoned the site in 1847. It is not clear as to just what kind of an agreement the Government had with the American Board when the Agency was established at Lapwai. Spalding claimed that the Government never rendered due return for the property which they "seized." He was highly indignant and called the whole affair "highway robbery."

His indignation was only increased when he learned that some "23 Jesuit missionaries remain in the same field [that is, Oregon Territory] unmolested and 15 Jesuit claims not one of them seized."¹ He felt that the Government had dealt very unjustly against him and the American Board. In 1866, W. G. Langford and his friend, I. H. Lassater, offered the American Board five hundred dollars for their claim to the site. On March 7, 1866, Spalding wrote to the Board about this and advised them to accept. He said: "These men will give \$500 and be at the expense of the suit themselves, take all the chances . . . I presume those men would be more likely to get the claim than a missionary."

The Board replied on May 12, saying: "The Comm.

¹ See Spalding Ms. to "Editor of Herald," Coll. W.

are ready to receive \$500 for the claim, & execute a quit claim of all their title therein, to the parties whom you name, or others.”² Treat was willing to take anything and wash his hands of the whole matter. Thus Langford and Lassater, two lawyers, came into possession of the claim to the property. The case drifted along for years, and was not finally settled until after Langford, who bought out Lassater’s rights, died.

Spalding was sick at heart over the developments at Lapwai which obliged him to leave in 1866. He wrote from Brownsville to his friend Atkinson, on December 1, 1866, about the “stupendous mission robbery at Lapwai . . . by the Government.”

I stand upon the banks of the Kalapooya, Oregon, in my 64th year quite destitute and not where I should have been, but for the stronger arm of the Government.

For three years I ceased not to beg the Government not to commit this crime. I addressed myself personally to President Lincoln and to Pres. Johnson . . . Secretary Treat . . . and a host of friends . . . I begged them not to drive me from my mission, my Ind. church and school and people whom I had served as pastor for nearly 30 years.³

SPALDING’S LECTURES

Following Spalding’s departure from Lapwai, the Roman Catholics made a strong effort to take over the work. Spalding blamed O’Neil, the Indian Agent, and Whitman for this, when in truth the movement started in Washington, D. C. Soon after Spalding left, Father J. B. Brouillet arrived, with a contract made with Commissioner Bogy of the Indian Department, authorizing the transfer of the schools to the Catholics. O’Neil, appreciating the attitude of the majority of the Nez Perces, and after consulting Whitman, decided to refuse.

In 1867, an Indian council was held to decide the matter, and it appears that the Indians expressed such objections as to cause the Agent to deny the Catholics’ request.

² Treat to Spalding, May 12, 1866. Coll. W.

³ O’Neil to Indian Office, April 11, 1872. Old Files, Indian Office, Washington, D. C.

On October 1, 1868, Robert Newell took over the Agency at Lapwai. A petition was sent to him containing the names of four hundred and seven persons who requested the return of Spalding to Lapwai. Newell replied on December 19, 1868, saying:

I have made known to the Indians your wishes and they assure me they do not want Mr. Spaulding for a teacher but had they so intimated your request would be adhered to and our present Superintendent of Schools would have been employed in some other situation.

That you may know I am sincere in what I say I will here state that if Mr. Spaulding will come up here and see the Indians and if they will chose him as Superintendent of Education I will employ him, as I think it my duty to let them have their choice in that particular.⁴

Newell stressed the point that the Nez Perce language was not allowed to be used in the schools. It is difficult to reconcile Newell's statements regarding the reluctance of the Indians to have Mr. Spalding, with other contemporary facts. It is certain that some of the Indians did not want Spalding, and that there was a growing desire on the part of the Indians to learn the English language.

After continued disappointments in his effort to return to Lapwai, Spalding decided to carry his story before the public in a series of lectures, some of which were published. Even before he left Lapwai, Spalding began writing for the newspapers. In his troubled days during the spring of 1865, Spalding wrote a series of thirteen articles which was published in the San Francisco *Pacific*, beginning May 23, 1865. In these articles, he developed the Whitman-saved-Oregon story, besides relating his own misfortunes. Marshall claims that the October 19 and November 9 issues contain the first published account of the Spalding-Gray version of this story.

Nine lectures appeared in the *Walla Walla Statesman*, beginning February 9, 1866. Marshall branded them as being as hysterical and verbose, and as full of false statements as the articles which appeared in the

⁴ Original, Coll. W.

Pacific. After eighteen years, Spalding's mind deceived itself in regard to some of the details of the massacre. Spalding was undoubtedly mistaken in many of his accusations. Our only explanation is that his growing obsession against the Catholics and his troubles at Lapwai had warped his judgment and confused his memory. Some claim that he had a persecution complex.

Gray wrote to Spalding on November 26, 1866, in regard to the lectures and said:

... you are wholly mistaken as to the part the Government have had in attempting to injure you, and could I have the time with you, I think I could convince you of the fact, that your enemies are in Oregon.

We must do justice to Dr. Whitman and the dead, let others do justice to us—when we are no more . . . You can speak for the cause of truth, personal matters and complaints will not be listened to by friend or foe, we may be wounded, and oppressed, and borne down, but others must defend us.⁵

Gray claimed that he was then working fifteen hours a day on his *History of Oregon*. "I have received a volum," he wrote, "containing a history of the H. B. Cos proceedings that is invaluable to me as it gives me the proof positive of my position in relation to that company, & the Roman priests, they were always so intimately conected that a word spoken against the priests *was an insult to them*."⁶

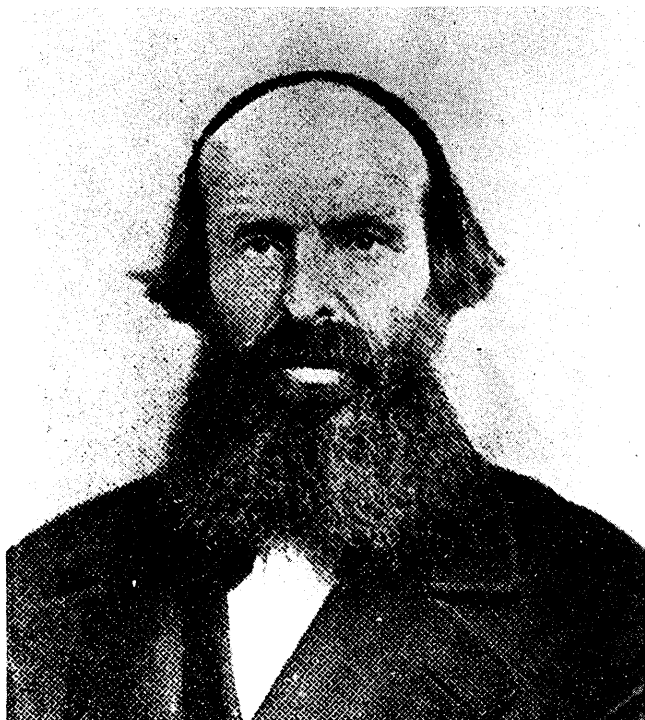
Here we see evidence of the fact that Spalding and Gray exchanged ideas on topics dear to the hearts of both. Their story gradually evolved. The Hudson's Bay Company and the Roman Catholic Church became the archvillains in the great drama which had taken place in the Pacific Northwest. Whitman became the martyred hero, and a halo was put upon his head.

Spalding also published a series of lectures in the *Albany States Rights Democrat* in 1866 and 1867. In the Whitman collection is the following brief note from M. H. Abbott, editor of the paper, dated November 2, 1867:

Rev. H. H. Spalding: Dear Sir: My columns are so cumbered with questions of vital importance, that I am compelled to insist

⁵ Spalding to Gray, Nov. 26, 1866. Coll. W.

⁶ *Ibid.*



HENRY HARMON SPALDING.

One of the originals of these pictures is at Whitman College on which is written "Your brother in Christ, 1868. Aged 65. Oregon. H. H. Spalding." On the back is an inscription to "Dear Sister Aulls."

From Miller: Presbyterianism in Steuben and Allegany.

that you bring your Lectures to a close speedily. If you do not I shall be under the disagreeable necessity of cutting them off myself.

The *Prattsburg Advertiser* for May 28, 1869, carried another of these lectures.

As early as 1868, Spalding conceived the idea of collecting testimonials regarding his work at Lapwai, actions of various church organizations taken in his favor, and selections from his lectures, and publishing them. On October 6, 1869, an old Prattsburg friend, Mrs. Electa Van Valkenburgh, wrote to Spalding, saying:

We learn with great satisfaction that the Rev. H. H. Spalding has collected authentic documents for a truthful history of the whole matter conclusively refuting the fool statements of the Jesuits—The next is to ask Congress to undo what they have done.⁷

The idea of presenting his case to Congress appealed to Spalding. On May 2, 1870, he wrote General O. F. Marshal,⁸ Wheeler, New York, another old friend, saying: "God willing I hope to visit the States this fall. . . . God giving me life, health, & strength, I purpose to make Congress back down or show their hand." He reiterated the great desire of his heart: "to return . . . among the Nez Perces, to live and die with them."⁹

Travel to the East had become comparatively easy with the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. Citizens in Oregon could go by boat to San Francisco, and then by rail to New York. Spalding decided to return to the East.

SPALDING'S TRIP TO THE EAST

On Thursday, October 27, 1870, Spalding took passage on a boat sailing from Portland, Oregon, for San Francisco.¹⁰ On the day before, his daughter Eliza wrote

⁷ Coll. W.

⁸ Marshal was a member of the Wheeler Presbyterian Church, and had signed one of the letters of recommendation for Whitman.

⁹ Coll. Wn.

¹⁰ Spalding to his wife, Oct. 26, 1870. Coll. O. More than thirty letters of Spalding, written while on this trip, are extant. From these we can trace out with some detail the events of the journey.

to her stepmother, asking for information regarding her father:

I think it is worse than useless for Father to go East with the hope of getting anything done for him there. . . .

I hope Father will not go back . . . he is so easily excited that to be so disappointed in what has been his hearts work for so long I know that it will almost take his mind from him and I know that he would be in no fit state to travel so far alone.¹¹

We have no record of the emotions Spalding experienced as he crossed the plains in a comfortable railroad car. Surely many memories of the toilsome journey made westward in 1836 surged through his mind. What marvelous changes had taken place in his lifetime! For one thing, he had lived to see the fulfillment of his prophecy that the day would come when railroads would cross the mountains.

Spalding stopped off in Chicago, and called on Rev. S. I. Humphrey, editor of the *Chicago Advance*, who published in the December 1st issue of his paper the story of his interview with Spalding. Humphrey described him as a "man of humble appearance, about seventy years of age." Humphrey's article included the revised form of the Indian's "lament";¹² the story of the meeting of Whitman and Spalding at Howard; an account of the trip across the plains in 1837; and an account of the Whitman massacre, which Humphrey placed under the title: "St. Bartholomew's Day in Oregon." It is impossible to say whether Humphrey or Spalding was responsible for the embellishments which this article contained on certain aspects of Spalding's story. Suffice it to say, Spalding was pleased with the article, and included it among the documents which he planned to submit to Congress.¹³

As would be expected, Spalding visited old friends and familiar scenes in Steuben County at his first opportunity. After an absence of nearly thirty-five years, he returned to Prattsburg. He was given a royal wel-

¹¹ Coll. O.

¹² Spalding's first "lament" appeared Feb. 16, 1866, in the *Walla Walla Statesman*.

¹³ Reprinted in Humphrey's *Eschol*.

come! Everywhere he went he found people eager to meet him and to hear him. His eastern trip turned out to be a grand triumphal procession. "I am amazed," he wrote back to his wife on December 8, when his stay in the East had but begun, "at the unbounded sympathy and tender care bestowed upon me."¹⁴ He spent a night with "Brother George" [Renchau?] in Bath, where he received a bundle of new clothing sent by old friends in Prattsburg. In all probability, his Prattsburg friends felt that he was not dressed properly to meet the members of Congress.

From Bath he went to Elmira, where he preached in the First Presbyterian Church on Sunday, December 4. "The vast building was jammed full," he wrote to his wife, "above and below. I can not give you the faintest idea of the tender care and heartfelt satisfaction with which the multitude lavish their warmest sympathy and future goodwill upon me."¹⁵ Spalding's story was old to the people of Oregon, but it was new and thrilling to those who lived in the East. He gloried in the opportunity of speaking before the large audiences which gathered to hear him. Spalding was eloquent. He had a vivid imagination. He had a story to tell which caught the attention of the people, especially when he told about the Whitman massacre.

In New York City Spalding met Hon. Wm. E. Dodge, who was once Vice President of the American Board, and who was largely responsible for Spalding's success with the U. S. Senate. Spalding wrote of his reception, to his wife, as follows:

Hon. Wm. E. Dodge of N. Y. Chamber of Commerce took me in his arms with the tenderness of a son, introduced me with enthusiasm to the great number of partners in this great office and then assured me of his warmest support in Washington, sent his chief clerk with me to the steamer, what a crowd in Broadway, he paid for passage to Boston and good bed and supper.¹⁶

Never before had Spalding had such an experience, and his heart swelled with pride and gratitude. He left

¹⁴ Coll. O.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Spalding to his wife, Dec. 8, 1870. Coll. O.

New York on Tuesday, December 6, for Boston, where he seems to have been entertained in the home of a niece of his second wife. On Friday, December 9, he called at the office of the American Board, and met Rev. S. B. Treat, D.D., with whom he had corresponded. Would that we had a stenographic report of their conversation! Treat promised Spalding his full coöperation.

At that time President Grant was working out a new policy for the American Indians. His plan called for the assignment of the various tribes to the different religious denominations which had done active work in the tribes concerned. These denominations would be responsible for the nomination of the agent, and the general oversight of the religious and educational work. On December 30, Spalding wrote to General O. F. Marshal, saying:

Your able report, & the Lectures & the outcry of the papers seems to have alarmed Grant . . . We have gained one victory without reaching Washington. It seems that Grant has taken the Nez Perce Nation from the Catholic church . . . & has given it to the Presbyterian Board of Missions.¹⁷

Spalding also informed Marshal that the Presbyterians had asked him to go back to Lapwai as their missionary. Spalding accepted with joy and alacrity. Without a doubt, Spalding and Treat talked about Grant's new policy there, in the American Board's rooms, at Boston.

While in that vicinity, Spalding visited a distant cousin of his, Dr. Samuel Spalding, pastor of the Congregational Church at Newburyport, Massachusetts, and preached for him, probably on Sunday, December 11. It was the first time the two men had met. Dr. Samuel Spalding was then engaged in collecting information for the first edition of the *Spalding Memorial*.¹⁸

On his return trip through New York, Spalding called at the offices of the American Bible Society, and induced them to reprint his translation of Matthew in

¹⁷ Spalding to Marshal, Dec. 30, 1870. Coll. Wn.

¹⁸ On Nov. 10, 1869, Dr. Samuel Spalding wrote to H. H. Spalding for information about his ancestry. Original, Coll. W.

the Nez Perce tongue.¹⁹ One thousand copies were printed, which were received by Spalding in November, 1871.²⁰ These books are still in use among the older members of the tribe who retain their mother tongue.

Spalding left for Washington on Thursday, December 22, stopping with old friends at Philadelphia for a few days. Among those upon whom he called was his friend of Prattsburg Academy days, Rev. David Malin, D.D.²¹ On Sunday, December 25, Malin led the veteran missionary into his pulpit, the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, and introduced Spalding to his people. Memories of the past surged through the minds of both men, and tears flowed down their cheeks. Surely Spalding told of that little half-breed boy, son of a Spanish father and an Indian mother, who was adopted by the Whitmans when he was a forlorn half-starved boy of three and given the name of David Malin. Did he also tell of how they were obliged to leave David, then nine years old, at Fort Walla Walla at the time the ransomed captives embarked for Oregon City, and of how the boy stood on the bank crying as though his heart would break as he saw the boats pull away without him?

Malin introduced Spalding to Jay Cooke, the great railroad man. Cooke gave Spalding fifty dollars, and entertained him in what Spalding described as "his royal mansion."²²

SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT NO. 37

Spalding arrived in Washington, D. C., on Thursday, January 5. There he found many influential people ready to help him, including Senator Corbett of Oregon. Corbett talked to Spalding about a suitable agent for the Nez Percés. Spalding wrote to Dr. John C. Lowrie, sec-

¹⁹ The copy Spalding used is now on exhibit in the New York Public Library, as a loan from the American Bible Society. See also *O.H.Q.* for June, 1922, p. 102, where it is stated that the reprint had but one typographical change. Spalding read proof.

²⁰ Spalding to *New York Evangelist*, Nov. 30, 1871, issue of Jan. 25, 1872.

²¹ B. Jan. 21, 1805, d. Dec. 25, 1885. Married, first time, Mary A. Porter, of Prattsburg.

²² Spalding to his wife, Jan. 9, 1871, Coll. O.

retary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions²³ about it, and incidentally said: "I think it important . . . that the old employees, especially the interpreter [that is, Perrin Whitman] should be removed and that Protestants be employed."²⁴ On the 11th, Spalding wrote again to Lowrie, urging him to insist upon the dismissal of "all the old rascals," including "the interpreter." In this letter Spalding informed Lowrie that Senator Corbett had received a telegram signed by Geary, Lindsley,²⁵ and Atkinson recommending the appointment of John Monteith.²⁶ Spalding was not altogether pleased with the recommendation, for he wanted Cyrus Walker, one of the sons of Rev. Elkanah Walker.

Through Senator Corbett's influence, Spalding was enabled to get his story presented in person before a group of influential senators. They listened with sympathetic ears to what he had to say, and agreed with him that his document should be printed and distributed by the Government. A meeting was set for Wednesday, January 25, when Spalding was given a chance to tell his story before a committee from the Senate. A mutilated letter from Spalding to his wife, written from the Senate Chamber on January 25, reveals his anxiety:

Dearest Wife, may God help your husband. In 5 minutes . . . appear before the Senate . . . my case . . . this infamous outrage is corrected.²⁷

On February 9, Spalding again wrote to his wife from the Senate Chamber:

Dearest Wife: Glory to God. Bless His Holy Name. Victory complete. The Senate has just ordered by a unanimous vote my manifesto printed and committed to Committee on Indian Affairs,

²³ In 1893 the Nez Perce mission was transferred to the Presbyterian Home Mission Board.

²⁴ Spalding felt that Perrin Whitman was too sympathetic with the Catholics. Yet in the spring of 1873, Perrin Whitman became a charter member and elder of the First Presbyterian Church of Lewiston.

²⁵ Dr. E. R. Geary was pastor of the Presb. Ch. Albany, Ore. Dr. A. L. Lindsley was pastor of the First Presb. Ch. Portland, Ore.

²⁶ Spalding to Lowrie, Presb. Board files.

²⁷ Coll. O.



HENRY HARMON SPALDING.

This picture was taken in Washington, D. C. some time during the first part of 1871, at Brady's National Photographic Portrait Gallery.

Picture loaned by his granddaughter, Mrs. F. B. Milliorn, Eugene, Oregon.

of which Senator Corbett is a member. Senator and myself followed it to the printer, saw it in his hands, and he is to allow me free access to it and to read proof sheets. Thank the Lord, Oh my soul.²⁸

Spalding was supremely happy. "I can hardly believe my eyes and ears," he wrote. "Every Senator seemed my friend." He felt that his cause had triumphed, and that he had been vindicated. His document appeared as Senate Executive Document No. 37, 41st Congress, 3d Session. It consisted of eighty-one pages of poorly arranged material.²⁹ Only fifteen hundred copies were printed at that time, and a second edition of twenty-five hundred was ordered in January, 1903.³⁰ Spalding wanted the House of Representatives to print some. On April 17, 1871, Spalding wrote to Treat that "they steadily refuse to do it."³¹ It is reported that after the printing was done, someone entered the printing office and either destroyed or carried away a large number.³²

While in Washington, Spalding lived for a number of weeks in the home of Dr. John C. Smith, the pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church of that city. In the March 2, 1871 issue of the *New York Evangelist* appeared an article by Dr. Smith entitled: "The Veteran Missionary," from which the following is taken:

Rev. Henry H. Spalding of Oregon has been my guest for more than a month past, and each day I have been led to appreciate him more and more highly, not only for what he has done in Oregon, but for his meek and quiet spirit, his great industry and constant labor in the duty which called him to this capital.

The March 9th issue of the *New York Observer* carried an editorial entitled: "A Great Wrong Righted," in

²⁸ Coll. O.

²⁹ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 172. "It is surprising that the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists . . . should have accepted this mass of rubbish that Spalding's bigoted and crazy brain had thrown together, and it is equally surprising that the Senate ever allowed this ridiculous collection of fabrications, exaggerations and flat-footed contradictions . . . to appear as a Senate document."

³⁰ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 172, infers that there were 40,000 printed. Spalding to Hines, Coll. O.

³¹ Coll. A. See also Spalding to Hines, Aug. 2, 1871, Coll. O.

³² *Whitman Coll. Quar.*, Oct., 1899, p. 9.

which the story of the printing of Senate Document No. 37 was told.

SPALDING RETURNS TO PRATTSBURG

Spalding was detained in Washington for several weeks, correcting proof. The next letters at present available, were written from Troy, Pennsylvania. On March 16 he wrote to his wife urging her to come and join him, and recommended that she stop off to see Mr. Humphrey in Chicago, and the Allens of Oberlin, Ohio.³³ At Troy and at Athens he visited his brothers, sisters, and cousins. He wrote to his wife on April 7: "My lovely sisters Eliza, Laura, and Helen, and my dear brothers Adolphus, Howard, and Shepherd in Troy made me indescribably happy. . . . Oh what a happy time I had with my relatives."³⁴

Spalding worked hard on the manuscript for a book, in which he planned to set forth the history of the mission of the American Board in Oregon. He left the manuscript with a friend in the East, and nothing more has ever been heard of it.³⁵ While at Troy, he received official notice of his appointment as Superintendent of Instruction at the Lapwai Agency. He learned of the serious illness of his youngest daughter, Amelia, and telegraphed his wife not to come east.

Many people wrote to Spalding for a copy of the Senate Document No. 37. In one day he got sixteen letters. He called the document "the triumphant verdict in my favor . . . Blessed be the name of the Lord." And again: "Am hard at work on my book. Great demand. . . . Bless the Lord, Oh our souls."³⁶

Spalding visited the scenes of his youth at Prattsburg and Wheeler the latter part of April and the first part of May. One Sunday, he preached at Wheeler, and found some gray-haired men and women in his congre-

³³ Coll. O.

³⁴ Coll. O.

³⁵ On Oct. 9, 1872, Spalding wrote to Dey: "I am anxious for my book I sent you by mail from Fort Simcoe W. T. June 29 . . . but have not heard from you & very curious." Coll. W.

³⁶ Coll. O. Spalding to his wife, April 14, 1871.

gation with whom he had played many years before. "What memories," he wrote his wife, "... the brook and the willow and the hill where I fished and played." He was reminded also of his illegitimate birth, as he traveled again over the road he had followed many years before as a boy "sad, destitute, 17, crying, a cast off bastard."³⁷ In his old age Spalding made several references to his birth to friends. He had a right to be proud of his achievements, all the more noteworthy because of the handicap under which he had started life.

While at Prattsburg, Spalding got in touch with Henry T. Cowley,³⁸ who had been graduated that spring from the Auburn Theological Seminary, and helped secure his appointment under the Presbyterian Board, as a missionary to the Nez Percés. Cowley had a wife and three children.³⁹ Spalding was detained in Chicago to attend the meeting of the General Assembly, and then went to visit relatives in Wisconsin. Cowley, with his family, went on ahead, and arrived at Lapwai the latter part of August, 1871. His appointment was another victory for Spalding. The American Board had refused to open up the work again, but here was the Presbyterian Board sending in a new missionary family. We can believe that Spalding said to himself again: "*Bless the Lord, Oh my soul.*"

ATTENDS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

On Sunday, May 14, Spalding preached at Prattsburg, and started that same week for Chicago. He stopped off at Cleveland, and went out to Hudson to see his old college, and was there invited to speak.⁴⁰ The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., met on May 18 in Chicago. On the day after the As-

³⁷ Coll. O. Spalding to his wife, May 3, 1871.

³⁸ Cowley was born at Seneca Falls, New York, Oct. 9, 1837. Educated at Oberlin College, and Antioch College. See my articles on Cowley in the *Spokane Chronicle* for May 10, 1935, and ff. Cowley became one of the founders of the city of Spokane, Washington.—C.M.D.

³⁹ Two of these children, Mrs. W. W. Stillman and Frederick R. Cowley are still residents of Spokane.

⁴⁰ Spalding to his wife, May 13, 1871. Coll. O.

sembly opened, Spalding persuaded a friend to present his document, of some fifteen hundred words, which recited his grievances against the Catholics, and called for the publication by the U. S. House of Representatives of forty thousand copies of "our defense, herewith transmitted." It does not appear that Spalding himself was given an opportunity to speak. The *General Assembly Journal* printed Spalding's memorial, with the following brief editorial note:

The Rev. F. A. Noble moved the following important document, which in the zeal of members to advance business was postponed.⁴¹

A newspaper clipping, found among the Spalding correspondence, speaks of his appearance at the meeting of the General Assembly in the following words:

There are missionaries in attendance upon the Assembly from Africa, Persia, and other remote lands; but the rarest man of all, and the one most worthy of special honor, is he whose name we have written at the head of this paragraph . . . [that is, H. H. Spalding.]

Though shaken and bowed a little with years and such hardships as fall to the lot of few men to encounter, and fewer still to survive, Mr. Spaulding has not abated a jot of his early missionary zeal.⁴²

The writer went on to bemoan the hasty action by which Spalding's memorial was tabled. The protest seems to have been effective, for the *Minutes of the General Assembly* for 1871 show that on Tuesday, May 30, the Assembly petitioned the House of Representatives "to publish a fair and adequate edition of Senate Ex. Doc. 37 of the Forty-First Congress." The resolution carries the following words: "And whereas, But a limited number of this last document were printed, and one half of the edition was destroyed by parties interested in suppressing the truth."⁴³

Spalding was delighted with what he considered another "victory." He wrote to his wife on June 20, saying in part:

⁴¹ *General Assembly Journal*, 1871, p. 56.

⁴² Coll. W.

⁴³ *Minutes of the General Assembly*, 1871, p. 550.

You have seen the notice of my great victory at Chicago. Praise the Lord, Oh my soul. What will Eells do? How could he have written that terribly false letter. But thanks to the God of truth the New York Observer ignored Eells.⁴⁴

After leaving Chicago, Spalding spent a week or more with a niece of his first wife at Rosendale, Wisconsin. The June 10th issue of the *Fond du Lac Commonwealth*, carried a story more than half a column long, entitled: "A Remarkable Man," and told of his two talks given in Rosendale the previous Sunday.⁴⁵

DETAINED IN OREGON

Spalding was tired as he started back to Oregon. His letters to his wife written while he was in the East bear frequent mention of his being sick. For the second time he started westward across the plains. He left Chicago on July 3, and reached Sacramento, California, on July 8.⁴⁶ He traveled from Sacramento to Brownsville by stage, arriving on August 14. He found his daughter Amelia (Mrs. John Brown) very ill, and Spalding felt it imperative to tarry by her bedside until there was a change, before leaving for Lapwai. On September 21, his daughter gave birth to a baby girl, who died the next day.⁴⁷ Mrs. Brown herself finally recovered, but for days her life was at low ebb.

In the meantime Cowley had been sent on to Kamiah, where he opened his school and began preaching services. Even before Spalding arrived at Lapwai, he saw signs of coming trouble with Monteith. Rev. W. J. Monteith, a Presbyterian minister and father of the Indian Agent, wrote a couple of letters to Spalding, in which he gave some of his son's ideas about the qualifications of a missionary and the methods he should follow. Spalding wrote to Dr. Lowrie, saying:

⁴⁴ Coll. W.

⁴⁵ Coll. W. On his return to Chicago from Rosendale, Spalding spoke in the Congregational Church at Oak Park, Ill., before starting for Oregon.

⁴⁶ Spalding to Lowrie, Aug. 18, 1871. Files Presby. Board of Foreign Missions.

⁴⁷ See Spalding Ms. Coll. W.

The sentiments advanced in the letters are precisely those of the many which I have heard for years, viz. 1st. The missionary should be an unmarried man, without a wife like a Catholic priest. 2d. The missionary teacher must not learn the native language but must speak through certain interpreters assigned him. Not 20 of the Nation want the Bible in their own language. 4th [3rd?] The money to reprint the Gospel of Matthew is only so much money thrown away. Should the agent advance such ideas to the Indian Board Secretary Coyler will discover at once the hand of the enemy. It is the old Catholic idea to keep the word of God from the common people.⁴⁸

The long delay, caused by his daughter's illness, precipitated difficulties at Lapwai for Spalding. Monteith, becoming impatient, secured the services of Mr. and Mrs. Perrin Whitman to look after the "Boarding and Lodging Dept." of the Indian School. The name of Mrs. Spalding had been suggested as matron, but due to the fact that she was not present, someone else had to be found. Monteith also secured the services of Rev. R. N. Fee, and his daughter Mary, to teach in the school at Lapwai.⁴⁹ Perrin Whitman was retained as interpreter. Thus the stage was all set for trouble for Spalding.

SPALDING VERSUS MONTEITH

Although Spalding and Monteith had both received their respective appointments about the same time, that is, in January, 1871, Spalding did not appear at Lapwai until October 26 of that year. He had received the position of Superintendent of Instruction with an annual salary of twelve hundred dollars. It is not certain just when the salary began. Spalding also had an official appointment as a missionary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, dated May 9, 1871, although there was at that time no financial responsibility on the part of the Board.⁵⁰ Cowley received his appointment as a

⁴⁸ Spalding to Lowrie, August (must be September) 1, 1871. Presbyterian Foreign Board files.

⁴⁹ Mrs. Fee was a sister of the Indian Agent's father, Rev. W. J. Monteith.

⁵⁰ Original commission, Coll. W. See also Lowrie's letters of March 28 and April 7, 1871, regarding the financial arrangement. Coll. W.

Government teacher, and also one as Presbyterian missionary. For the first year he received his pay from the Government.

Spalding had not been at the Agency for more than a few days before trouble began to show itself. He did not like Whitman and found cause to criticize his personal life, his supposed sympathy with the Catholics, and Spalding even charged him with gross moral delinquency. Spalding did not like the schoolbooks which were being used, and called the Wilson's series of readers "the works of the Devil." Spalding wanted the New Testament used, and was partial to his translation into the Nez Perce tongue.

Monteith also came under Spalding's critical eye, and was accused of favoritism, in that he hired his relatives, Rev. R. N. Fee and his daughter Mary, for the school work, and had also given a place in the Agency to his brother Charles.⁵¹ Spalding accused Monteith of inefficiency, and of intemperance. Monteith, who was aware of some of Spalding's peculiarities, kept the control of the schools in his own hands, even though Spalding was the Superintendent of Instruction. This irked Spalding.

The Monteith correspondence⁵² shows that by December 21, Monteith was aware that Spalding was making serious charges against him. Monteith wrote in to the Indian Commissioner, explaining the situation, and asking for advice. He wrote:

As Mr. Spaulding came here in the especial character of a Missionary, I thought his duties in that relation would fully occupy his time. He has permission to visit the schools and address the pupils, when he pleases and on Saturdays he is at liberty to

⁵¹ Charles Monteith married Frances Whitman, daughter of Perrin Whitman, Sept., 1874. Mrs. Monteith, with her sister, Mrs. Sophia Mallory, now resides in Lewiston. They first went to Lapwai in 1863, and were eyewitnesses of some events herein described. Mrs. Monteith went over the Lapwai site with me in January, 1935, identifying sites.—C.M.D.

⁵² Many of the Monteith originals are in the Old Indian Files, Indian Office, Washington, D. C. A few years ago a file of the duplicates of the Monteith correspondence was discovered in the wall of an agency building at Spalding, Idaho. This file is now in the Idaho State Historical Society.

gather them together and give them religious instruction but I keep the control of the schools in my own hands.⁵³

On January 1, 1872, Monteith wrote another letter about Spalding to the Indian Commissioner and also one to Dr. Lowrie. Monteith said that he had learned that Spalding's principal objection was "my retaining Mr. Whitman as interpreter." He justified his appointment of Whitman by pointing out the necessity of having an interpreter, Spalding did not arrive until October 26, and also the fact that the Indians had great faith in Whitman. Monteith summed up his convictions about the old missionary as follows:

I would be glad to keep Mr. S. as an advisor but he would be dictator and let who will be Agent here unless he consents to echo Mr. S's sentiments and execute his plans, however wild and childish they may be, will find him a determined opponent.⁵⁴

Indian Commissioner Walker replied on January 26, demanding an explanation as to how it came about that the Superintendent of Instruction was not to have the schools. "The appointment is all the more inexplicable," wrote Walker, "from the fact that there was evidence that he would not be acceptable or successful in that capacity. . . . If the design was in this manner to pay the salary of a missionary not appointed by the Government, you will understand that such a proceeding will not be permitted."⁵⁵

Monteith replied on March 9, saying: "I assumed that the duties of the office were somewhat similar to those of the County Supts. of common Schools in the Eastern States." Monteith felt that it was Spalding's duty to exercise an oversight over all schools on the reservation, and induce the Indians to send their children, rather than to conduct the school at Lapwai.

Rev. E. R. Geary went to Lapwai the latter part of March, 1872, and conducted a lengthy and impartial investigation. He reported to Walker on April 27, saying that he had found no foundation for Spalding's charges

⁵³ Monteith to Walker, Dec. 22, 1871. Copy, Idaho Hist. Soc.

⁵⁴ Monteith to Lowrie, Jan. 1, 1872. Copy, Idaho Hist. Soc.

⁵⁵ Walker to Monteith, Jan. 26, 1872. Copy, Coll. S.

of "debauchery, gross profanity, and habitual intemperance" that were made against Whitman. He also found that Monteith was administering the Agency with "integrity and efficiency." He found that some of Spalding's charges rested upon misinformation given by disgruntled former employees who had been discharged by Monteith. "I would not be understood," wrote Geary of Spalding, "as charging him with intentional misrepresentation."⁵⁶

Geary submitted a lengthy document of twenty-four pages to the Presbytery of Oregon, in which he gave a detailed report of his investigation.⁵⁷ Spalding had reason to feel grieved toward Geary, for Geary was the man most responsible for the appointment of Monteith. Under the agreement with the Indian department, the various denominations were to nominate men of their own denomination as agents. Monteith, although a man of high integrity and proved efficiency, was not then a member of the Presbyterian Church or any other denomination. The telegram which went to Washington with the names of Geary, Atkinson, and Lindsley nominating Monteith, proved to be Geary's work. When Spalding approached his friend Atkinson about the nomination, he was surprised to learn that Atkinson knew nothing about the telegram. Lindsley likewise declared his ignorance of it.⁵⁸ Geary admitted that he had used Atkinson's and Lindsley's names without their knowledge, but said he felt assured they would agree with him. On the whole, Geary⁵⁹ conducted a very fair examination of the situation which then existed at Lapwai.

Nevertheless, the situation was such that the Government decided to be free from any relationships with Spalding. He was consequently released from his duties on July 1, 1872. Cowley threw his lot in with Spalding, and was also relieved of his duties on October 1.

⁵⁶ Geary to Indian Commissioner, April 28, 1872. Old Indian Files, Indian Office, Washington, D. C.

⁵⁷ The original is in Coll. S. First page is missing.

⁵⁸ *Idaho Signal*, June 7, 1873. A file is in the Lewiston Town Hall, Lewiston, Idaho.

⁵⁹ Geary had a brother, John W. Geary, who was Governor of Pennsylvania, 1867-1873.

THE GREAT AWAKENING

Following Spalding's departure from Lapwai, in 1865, a wave of intemperance and immorality swept through the Nez Perce nation. Old heathen customs were revived, and sorcery got a hold upon the people. Gambling, drunkenness, and fighting became common. In June, 1870, four Christian Yakima Indians, under the leadership of one of their number by the name of George Waters, arrived at the Nez Perce reservation and began to preach the Christian gospel. They had wonderful results, and among other things prepared the way for the return of Spalding.⁶⁰

When Spalding returned to his old mission station in October, 1871, he resumed at once the form of work in which he was most proficient and best qualified—that of preaching to the Indians. Great crowds again gathered about him on Sunday to hear him denounce their sins and expound the Word of God. Spalding found only a few of the old church still alive, among whom were old faithful Timothy and Jude. These constituted his unofficial session, and upon their advice, he baptized and received into the church on Sunday, November 12, 1871, forty-five men and women.⁶¹ Among those received were Lawyer, the head chief, and Tack-en-su-a-tis, who had been nicknamed "Rotten-Belly." Both of these chiefs had met the Spalding-Whitman party at the rendezvous in the summer of 1836. To the latter Spalding gave the baptismal name of Samuel.⁶² Surely Spalding must have felt great joy when he received these two into the church. The willingness of these two chiefs to be baptized undoubtedly set an example for the other members of the tribe.

Spalding bestowed Bible names upon his converts: Enoch, Daniel, Ebenezer, Lydia, Esther, Naomi, etc.

⁶⁰ McBeth, *The Nez Percés Since Lewis and Clark*, pp. 77-78.

⁶¹ A list of those received that day, made out in Spalding's handwriting, is in Coll. W. See also *Synod of Wash. Minutes*, 1903, p. 262. *The New York Evangelist* for Jan. 25, 1872, contains Spalding's account of the revival.

⁶² It is reported that one of Samuel's sons and two of his daughters are still living (1935) in the vicinity of Stites, Idaho.

Sometimes he gave the names of white people. To one couple he gave the names of Henry and Eliza Spalding. "This is a glorious day," he wrote in the minute book of the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon, "bless the Lord oh my soul."

The whole Nez Perce nation was on the eve of a great spiritual awakening. On November 13 he baptized and received into the church nineteen additional members, and gave the name "Lorena" to one of the Indian women, in memory of Lorena Hart, his first wife's most devoted sister. On the 14th he received fourteen more; on the 20th, twenty more; and so on, until he had welcomed two hundred and forty-six members by February 1, 1872.⁶³

Meanwhile, Cowley, at Kamiah was having similar results. The whole Nez Perce nation was aroused; old and young alike were eager to confess their sins, to be baptized, and to join the church. Sunday after Sunday, new members came forward to make their vows. On December 25, 1871, the First Presbyterian Church (Indian) of Kamiah was organized with Chief Lawyer as the ruling elder.⁶⁴ This was evidently the work of Cowley, for Spalding did not appear to be interested in establishing church units in the various parts of the Nez

⁶³ Cowley to Spalding, Feb. 24, 1872, Coll. W. This collection contains more than forty of Cowley's letters to Spalding. See also *Presbyterian Monthly Record*, April, 1872, p. 69: "Since his return in November, he (that is, Spalding) had admitted one hundred and sixty-nine . . . Mr. Cowley . . . admitted one hundred and twenty."

⁶⁴ According to John Frank, elder in the First Presb. Church of Kamiah. The present session records go back to about 1890. The original records were lost about 1889 when a horse belonging to Solomon Whitman, then an elder in the church, ran away when Whitman was returning from a meeting of Presbytery. The book was lost on the prairie in the vicinity of the town of Nezperce, Idaho. Lawyer thus has the honor of being the first elder of Nezperce Presbyterian Church. His son, Archie, became an ordained minister. The inscription on the Lawyer tombstone in the cemetery back of the First Church reads as follows: "Lawyer, Chief Lawyer, Died Jan. 3, 1876, about 74 yrs of age. In 1855 & 1863 he was present at the Gov. treaties at Walla Walla rep. the Nez Perce Indians and was elected Spokesman for the Indians residing on the reservation. he was the first elder of the 1st Presb. Church of Kamiah. He made two trips to Wash. D. C. This monument was erected by his direct descendants."

Perce nation. Spalding considered all converts as members of the old First Presbyterian Church of Oregon.⁶⁵

In March Spalding visited Alpowa, where Red Wolf and Timothy lived. Alpowa used to be a way station *en route* to Wailatpu. There, on the 10th, Spalding baptized thirty-five Indians.⁶⁶ After one name Spalding made the following note in the minute book: "Spoke in tears of Dr. Whitman." Spalding returned to Alpowa on the 28th of April and baptized fourteen more.

May 5 found Spalding at Kamiah, where he met with the Yakima Indian preachers and Cowley. Together they examined sixty-six candidates, baptized and received them into the church, and the next day welcomed twenty-two more. Again Spalding wrote in the minute book; "Bless the Lord oh my soul." He hurried back to Lapwai to welcome more members the following Sunday, and the Sunday after that he was back at Alpowa, where he baptized and received twenty-five more. The seed sown so many years previous had matured and was yielding its harvest.

SUMMER OF 1872

During the summer of 1872, Spalding visited the Yakima Reservation, where the Rev. James H. Wilbur of the Methodist Church had been ministering since 1860. Spalding took with him, to the great disgust of Monteith, some thirty Indians, just at the time they were needed to harvest their crops.⁶⁷ Spalding felt that a more important harvest was at hand.

The Whitman Collection contains three interesting letters written by Mrs. Spalding to her husband during

⁶⁵ The splendid work of training a native ministry was performed by Sue McBeth and her sister Kate, and still later by their niece, Miss Mary Crawford.

⁶⁶ He gave the name "Levina" to one of the girls or women, perhaps in memory of Levina Linsley, to whom he had once been engaged. Also, on the previous December 25, he baptized a girl or a woman, perhaps at Lapwai, to whom he gave the name "Lovina." Prattsburg church records spell the name both "Levina" and "Lovina."

⁶⁷ Monteith to Lowrie, July 20, 1874. Presb. For. Bd. files.

the time he was away, and four of his letters to her. Mrs. Spalding wrote on Tuesday, June 25:

My Dear Husband. You left Lapwai about nine o'clock Wednesday morning last, I watched you as you went up the steep hill to the right of the Agency until you were out of sight, and O how dark and dreary it seems to me now you are gone.

The next day she wrote again, giving him the information that a letter had arrived from Dr. Lowrie, in which it was stated that "the charges made by the Rev. H. H. Spalding against Mr. J. B. Monteith . . . have not been sustained." The Board felt that in view of his advanced age, and his knowledge of the Nez Perce language, he should be allowed to give his full time to preaching, and was, therefore, willing to assume his support. Thus it worked out that when the Government dropped him from their pay roll, the Presbyterian Church stood ready to begin payment of his salary of twelve hundred dollars a year.

The long trip to Simcoe on horseback was a hard one on the old missionary, then in his sixty-ninth year. At Wallula, the site of the old Fort Walla Walla, he wrote to his wife on Monday, June 24, complaining about the heat. He had been kicked by a mule, and had fainted. He was carried into a saloon, where he revived. The party reached the Yakima Reservation on the 29th, and there took part in a big camp meeting for the Indians. On June 20, Spalding reported that thirty had been converted. At Simcoe Spalding received the letter giving Lowrie's decision, and was happy with the turn of events, for he much preferred being under the Church to being under the Government.

On his return trip, Spalding stopped at Alpowa on July 14, where more members were welcomed into the church. More were received on the 24th, and more at "Wild Horse" on September 27. Thus the work continued, with results most gratifying to the veteran missionary. Jay Cooke of Philadelphia sent a tent and equipment to Spalding, which added much to his comfort.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ *Whitman Coll. Quar.*, Oct., 1899, pp. 13-14.

AUTUMN OF 1872

In the autumn of 1872, Rev. George Ainslie arrived at Lapwai to assume the duties of Superintendent of Education. Ainslie remained three years, and in this short time he secured sufficient mastery of the language to translate, with Whitman's help, the Gospel of John and the First Epistle of John, into the Nez Perce tongue.⁶⁹

Neither Spalding nor Cowley was satisfied with Geary's investigation and report, so Spalding decided to attend the Presbytery of Oregon, scheduled to meet at Albany, Oregon, on November 7. He left Lapwai on October 22. He spent a few days at his old home at Brownsville, where he found his daughter Amelia again very ill.

In a letter to his wife, describing the meeting of Presbytery, Spalding said that the members of that body were "evidently embarrassed at my unexpected arrival."⁷⁰ On November 11, Presbytery took action, approving "the proposed examination by Presbytery" of conditions at the Agency. They voted to meet at Lapwai on May 10, 1873.⁷¹

Since Ainslie had arrived at Lapwai, it was clear to everyone, except Spalding, that Spalding would have to be moved. Presbytery, therefore, ordered Spalding to move to Kamiah. Thus for the third time Spalding was obliged to leave his mission station. The first time he had to go because of the hostility of some of the Indians; the second time because of an order from Government officials; and now the third time by order of his own Church.

Spalding obeyed the order, but with a heavy heart. It appears that Mrs. Spalding was left at Lapwai during the winter of 1872-73, while Spalding lived at Kamiah,

⁶⁹ Printed by the Presbyterian Board of Publications, 1876, along with a small catechism by Ainslie in Nez Perce. Copies in Coll. P. In 1915, 300 copies of *The Life of Jesus Christ from the Four Gospels* by Father I. M. Cataldo, S. J., were published in Portland. This also contains selections from Genesis and Acts. It is possible that Father Cataldo based his work upon the translations of Spalding and Ainslie.

⁷⁰ Spalding to his wife, Nov. 20 (?), 1872. Coll. W.

⁷¹ A copy of the minute, Coll. W.



HENRY HARMON SPALDING.

Picture loaned by Prof. Wallace H. Lee, Albany, Oregon. It was retaken from another picture by Erichson, Moscow, Idaho, photographer. The date of the original is unknown.



First Presbyterian Church (Indian), Kamiah, Idaho. The oldest Protestant church building in continuous use in the State of Idaho. Erected, 1873. In the cemetery back of this church lie buried the McBeth sisters (prominent in Presbyterian mission work among the Nez Perces after Spalding's day), Lawyer, Rev. James Hayes, D.D. (A Nez Perce minister who was given the D.D. degree), and many others of importance.

Picture by kindness of Miss Mary Crawford, Lapwai.

perhaps in the Cowley home. Spalding called the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions an "ungodly Board." He wrote to his wife on December 20, 1872, saying: "May the good Lord forgive the Miss Bd & Monteith & Ainslie for thus robbing me of my field."⁷²

END OF THE NEZ PERCE REVIVAL

Spalding felt that his expulsion from Lapwai "effectively stopped . . . the wonderful work of Grace among this tribe."⁷³ He summed up his winter's work at Kamiah in the following record in the minute book of the Church, which served almost as a diary for him in his old age: "labored through the winter till Feb. 20 1873. Preached every Sabbath to a crowded congregation averaging 320."

The Government built a church at Kamiah, which was dedicated in the summer of 1873, and is still in use. This building, so it is claimed, has the record of being the oldest Protestant church structure in continuous use in the State of Idaho. A church was also erected by the Government at Lapwai.⁷⁴ Once, during the winter of 1872-73, Spalding was so weak from an illness that the Indians had to carry him to his congregation, and when he got there he found that he had no strength to speak. He spent some time during that winter translating the Book of Acts.

The great revival which had swept through the Nez Perce tribe had run its course. Within the eighteen months after Spalding's return, more than six hundred Nez Perces had been received into the church on confession of faith—a truly remarkable record. The foundations were laid for the six Nez Perce Presbyterian churches which exist today.⁷⁵ Spalding was not an organizer. He looked upon his converts as members of the original First Church of Oregon, but he took no steps to

⁷² Spalding to his wife, Dec. 20, 1872. Coll. W.

⁷³ Spalding to Marshal, Nov. 13, 1873. Coll. Wn.

⁷⁴ This church was later torn down. The present Indian church at Spalding is not the original Government building.

⁷⁵ There is also a Methodist Church among the Nez Perces at Lapwai, which broke off from the Lapwai Presbyterian.

ordain elders, or to establish local organizations. It is reported that he ordained three deacons at Kamiah, namely, Lawyer, Solomon Whitman, and Jonathan (Billy) Williams.⁷⁶

Monteith and others criticized Spalding for his slackness in judging the merits of the Indians who applied for baptism. On December 12, 1872, Lowrie wrote to Spalding to find out if it were true that he had baptized some converts several times, and asked for a membership roll. ⁷⁷ The tradition is still current that some Indians appeared before Spalding several times, and were as many times baptized.⁷⁸ On February 14, 1873, Monteith wrote to Dr. Lindsley, saying: "I will show among other things at the meeting of Presby. 'outrageous irregularities'—that Mr. Spalding has united in marriage a woman to two different men, six months only intervening and then without any regular divorce."⁷⁹ On March 6, 1874, Monteith wrote to Lindsley, saying:

Mr. Ainslie has never organized a church here knowing he could not receive one in ten of those who have been baptized by Mr. Spalding and admitted into his church . . . The Presbyterian Church is painfully deceived in this respect.⁸⁰

It is quite possible that irregularities occurred, but it can hardly be attributed to any intention on Spalding's part, but rather to the infirmities of his age. His eye was not so discerning, his memory not so good as it had been, and undoubtedly some of the Indians imposed upon him for personal reasons. As to the reality of the Christian faith and experience of the ones received into the church, it is safe to say that the record of the Nez Perce Christians can be compared with the record of any sim-

⁷⁶ McBeth, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁷⁷ Coll. W.

⁷⁸ Another story is that Spalding insisted that all men put away all wives except their first wife before being baptized. One Indian, eager to be baptized, had a domineering "number two wife." He asked Spalding if it were right to put her away. "Absolutely," said Mr. Spalding. "Then," said the Indian, "you tell her."

⁷⁹ Monteith to Lindsley, Feb. 14, 1873. Copy, Idaho Hist. Soc.

⁸⁰ Monteith to Lowrie, Mar. 6, 1874. Copy, Idaho Hist. Soc.

ilar number of their white brethren without fear of loss of glory.

PRESBYTERY MEETS AT LAPWAI

The Presbytery of Oregon met at Lapwai according to appointment on May 10, 1873. Several actions relating to Spalding were adopted, including the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Presbytery express to the Foreign Missionary Board its views upon the value and importance of the Missionary work which has been performed by the Rev. H. H. Spalding among the Nez Perce people and desire to clear him from all unjust aspersions which may have been cast upon him from any quarter whatsoever.

(Signed) A. L. LINDSLEY.⁸¹

On May 14, John B. Monteith⁸² and H. H. Spalding signed a treaty of peace, whereby each solemnly pledged himself "not in any way to interfere with the work and duties which respectively belong to each other."⁸³ Spalding was reappointed to Kamiah, and the case of Cowley was referred to the Board. Cowley moved to Mt. Idaho in May, 1873, where he remained until the fall of 1874, when he moved to Spokane.

SPALDING'S SUCCESS WITH THE SPOKANES

On March 27, 1873, old Chief Garry, of the Spokane tribe, sent word to Spalding, inviting him to visit that tribe "to baptize his people and marry them according to laws."⁸⁴ Judging from the following extract from a letter to Marshal from Spalding, it appears that the written invitation was followed up by a personal one. Spalding wrote on November 13, 1873: "A delegation headed by the chief of the Spokane Tribe 200 miles N of this came for me to go and preach Jesus to their peo-

⁸¹ *Idaho Signal*, June 7, 1873.

⁸² Monteith died Aug. 7, 1879. He was Indian Agent during the Chief Joseph uprising of 1877. He lies buried at Spalding, Idaho, in a grave near the Spaldings.

⁸³ One of the originals in Coll. W.

⁸⁴ Original letter, Coll. W. Garry, b. 1811; d. Jan. 14, 1892.

ple.”⁸⁵ Spalding considered the invitation as a providential opening, coming just when the great spiritual awakening among the Nez Perces had abated.

Spalding left some time after the fourth of July, having with him some seven Nez Perces. He arrived at Spokane Falls on the 21st. His preaching among the Spokanes met with an instant and gratifying response. He wrote to his wife on the 25th, saying: “32 have been received into the church including 8 children. bless the Lord oh my soul.”⁸⁶

Spalding was in his seventieth year, yet that summer traveled nearly fifteen hundred miles on horseback, one day riding more than seventy miles. He lived with the Indians, followed them to their fisheries, slept on the ground, ate their food, and shared their life in every particular. His labors were crowned with spectacular success. Altogether he received “112 males and 141 females 81 children” into the church. He wrote to his friend General Marshal on November 13, 1873, giving him the details of his summer’s experience and saying:

The labor has been fearfully severe to ride so much on rough horse in my old age (70 on the 26th of this month) but my heart has overflowed with praises to God & Joy in his wonderful work. A delegation came the other day again but I could not go, too worn down.⁸⁷

Spalding referred the Spokanes to Cowley, and they induced him to go and live with them. In the summer of 1875, Rev. Cushing Eells visited the Cowleys at Spokane Falls, and was amazed to see the extent of the revival which had swept through the Spokane tribe. Eells and Walker had labored at Tshimakain from 1838 to 1847 without the joy of winning a single convert, yet the seed had been sown, and Spalding had gathered in the harvest. This revival laid the foundations for the two Presbyterian churches still in existence among the Spokanes.

⁸⁵ Spalding to Marshal, Nov. 13, 1873. Coll. Wn.

⁸⁶ Spalding to his wife, July 25, 1873. Coll. W.

⁸⁷ Coll. Wn.

IN CONCLUSION

On Spalding's seventieth birthday he wrote in the minute book:

I am today Nov 26/73 70 years	
Received males 278 females 372	655
from among the Nez Perces & infants	212
Among Spokane males 112 females 141	253
infants	81
Old members Nov. 1871 males 13 females 10	23
	931

He also noted that he had baptized "adults—914, Infants 293," making a total number of baptisms 1,207. It is possible that Spalding included the number that Cowley received.

Even after his seventieth birthday, Spalding continued to win converts, so that the total number is still greater. His was an enviable record! We marvel to think of his making an itinerating trip of nearly fifteen hundred miles on horseback in his seventieth year, enduring all the hardships of outdoor life with the Indians. There are some still living who were baptized by Spalding in the summer of 1873. On October 21, 1934, Rev. E. H. Edgar, Presbyterian missionary to the Spokanes, wrote, saying that some of the members of the Spokane Indian church "were baptized by Dr. Spalding⁸⁸ when he baptized the 79 Indians at a spring on their camping ground a few miles south of Cheney. There were five elderly people in our services two weeks ago who were baptized by Dr. Spalding on this occasion."⁸⁹ One of the adopted nephews of Spokane Garry was baptized by Spalding, and he served as an elder in the church for nearly forty years.⁹⁰

These revivals among the Nez Perces and Spokanes came as a fitting crown to Spalding's years of persistent

⁸⁸ Spalding never received a doctor's degree. Mrs. Warren in her *Memoirs* used the title; also Nixon, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁸⁹ In my possession.—C.M.D.

⁹⁰ Spokane Garry had no sons. He appears to have raised two boys in his old age, Thomas S. and Titus, who took the name of Garry and are called his "nephews." Thomas, who served as an elder in the church for so long, died May 28, 1932.

and faithful work. It is true, white people found it difficult to work with him. Some of his associates called him crazy, and wrote about his being in danger of becoming "deranged." Others found him cantankerous and stubborn. And still others complained about his fiery temper. Yet the fact remains that no missionary had such wonderful results among the natives in all of Old Oregon as did H. H. Spalding. History has vindicated him. His passion for settling the people and teaching them the arts of civilized life was sound and sensible. Much of the subsequent stability of the Nez Perces can be traced back to the lessons he taught.

Tremendous odds piled up against him, which he conquered through his willingness to work and to endure hardship. He was versatile. He was consecrated. He never lost sight of his missionary objectives. In view of his accomplishments, it is not too much to claim that Henry Harmon Spalding was the greatest of all the missionaries to Old Oregon.

In trying to evaluate his work, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to say just what constituted his greatest contribution. He was the forerunner of western civilization in what is now the State of Idaho. He, more than any other missionary, reduced the Nez Perce language to writing and did a notable work in translating and printing. Today there still exist, as living memorials of his work, six Presbyterian churches and one Methodist church among the Nez Perces, and two Presbyterian churches among the Spokanes. The Nez Perces are claimed to be the most Christianized tribe in the United States, and they are certainly one of the most advanced in the arts of civilized life. Competent observers have been quick to testify that the friendly and coöperative spirit of the Christian Nez Perces, who were the treaty Indians, was due to the beneficent influence of Mr. Spalding.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

As Spalding returned to Kamiah after his work with the Spokanes, he realized that his ministry was about over. He was tired, very tired, but happy.

A few more clouds had to gather in the western sky. Ever since the first Catholic priests visited the Flathead tribe, the Catholic influence had been felt among the Nez Perces, to Spalding's great distress of mind. In 1869, when Dr. Newell was Indian Agent at Lapwai, Catholic priests held religious services on the reservation, and the year before had erected a chapel at the head of Potlatch Creek, two and a half miles from the Agency, though off the reservation.⁹¹ Even though the Nez Perces had been assigned to the Presbyterians, the Catholics felt that they should be allowed to minister to the small group in that tribe who wished the rites of the Catholic Church.⁹²

Accordingly, in 1873, the Catholics secured permission from the Department of Indian Affairs to erect on the reservation a Catholic Church and a dwelling for the priest. Father I. M. Cataldo, S. J., was in charge of this project, and chose a site about ten miles from Fort Lapwai.⁹³ Knowing Spalding's attitude, we can believe that meant heartaches for him.

In the first part of November, 1873, Spalding suffered a fall while cutting wood, which resulted in a broken rib and other internal injuries. On January 22, 1874, the old warrior of the cross wrote to his friend, General Marshal, a letter which pulsates with his crusading spirit. Among other things, he said:

I beg you to be faithful and fearless and save the mission Board in New York if possible. But I fear it can not be done . . . I can not see how they can be saved from sin.⁹⁴

Spalding's great success with the Spokanes suggested the idea to the Presbytery of Oregon that he be transferred to that tribe. Although Spalding was then seventy years old, he willingly accepted the new assignment even when that meant a transfer from his beloved Nez Perces.

⁹¹ See Garry's report of March, 1872. Section 23, Coll. S.

⁹² By this same argument the Protestants ministered to the Spokane tribe, which was attached to the Colville agency. The Catholics had the religious supervision of that agency.

⁹³ Now known as the Slickpoo Mission.

⁹⁴ Spalding to Marshal, Jan. 22, 1874. Coll. Wn.

The last letter discovered written by Spalding was sent to Spokane Garry and bears the date March 28, 1874. It is as follows:

Dear brother Garry. Your welcome letter came to hand in due time. I am glad to hear from you & your people. Sorry to hear so many dead. We have had but little snow here & cattle & horses have done quite well.

I have been feeble all winter for more than a month not able to attend meetings which conducted by the Indian preachers. Next week the Nez Perces Nation elect their head chief. Lawyer and Jacob are the candidates. 20 of next month we expect a delegation from the Yankamaw church at Fort Simcow to be here & we are to have a great camp-meeting. I do hope yourself & many of your people will be able to come. The meeting will close about 12 of May. I have been appointed a missionary by the Oregon Presbytery & also by the Mission Board in New York, to the Spokanes & the tribe of which Moses is chief. Immediately after our camp-meeting, the blessed Jesus giving me strength, I expect to start for your country. I suppose you will camp again where you did last year near Mr. Courtney (?)? Several Nez Perces helpers will accompany me.

Love to all

Your affectionate brother
and missionary

H. H. SPALDING.⁹⁵

Lowrie wrote to Spalding on April 10, 1874, in regard to being transferred to the Spokanes. "The matter is now in your hands," wrote Lowrie.⁹⁶ But by the time that letter reached Spalding he was too feeble to think of moving.

"MARCUS" AND "NARCISSA" WHITMAN

Two other records from the minute book of the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon deserve mention. On May 11, 1874, Cowley wrote:

⁹⁵ Spalding to Garry, which I found in Spokane Garry's Bible. (Coll. Wn.) This letter indicates that Spalding was using a number of his converts to assist in the preaching. Among these were Timothy, Archie Lawyer, Enoch Pond, Peter Lindsley, and others. On August 21, 1935, I visited William Threemountains, a Spokane Indian, who was a lad when Spalding visited the Spokanes, and was baptized by Spalding. He told of these Indians accompanying Spalding in the summer of 1873.—C.M.D.

⁹⁶ Lowrie to Spalding, April 10, 1874, Coll. W.



San Felix Corbett *Rev. William Schuler*
Rev. Solomon Whitman *Rev. Crook Bond*
Rev. Elias Whitman
Rev. Johnathan Williams - Billie
All pupils of Rev. H. H. Spalding

From original owned by Homer Deffenbaugh, Ithaca, N. Y. Notes are by Rev. G. L. Deffenbaugh, Presbyterian missionary at Lapwai, 1878-1888. These were some of the Christian Nez Perces who were the companions of Rev. H. H. Spalding on his itinerating trips in his old age.

Picture used by permission of owner.

Today the deeply interesting event occurred of the baptism by Bro. Spalding, apparently on his death bed, of the Umatilla Chief, Umhawalish, who came all the way from his country, 210 miles, for Protestant baptism. He was one of the early pupils of the martyr Whitman.

Cowley supported Spalding in his bed as the aged missionary baptized the Umatilla chief and gave him the name of "Marcus Whitman." The same day, the wife of the chief was baptized and given the name of "Narcissa Whitman."⁹⁷ Spalding gave one of his Matthew reprints to the chief after inscribing it: "Marcus Whitman with his wife Narcissa were baptized at the house of Rev. H. H. Spalding, May 11, 1874."⁹⁸ Mrs. Spalding gave a similar copy to the chief's wife.

The last record made by Spalding in the minute book was for July 6, when "Lot very old came 280 miles" for baptism. Several others were received at the same time, and then with a shaky pen, Spalding wrote: "Bless the Lord oh my soul." It was his last entry.

AT EVENTIDE

The injury which Spalding received in November, 1873, was the beginning of the end. He slowly but surely failed physically during the spring of 1874. He knew and others knew that his sun was going down. On Thursday, May 14, Timothy arrived at Kamiah to see his old friend. The Whitman Collection contains a rough piece of paper on which the second Mrs. Spalding wrote:

My dear Husband, Rev. Henry Harmon Spalding, is now lying verry ill, verry near the grave. two o'clock P.M. Timothy one of the chiefs just came to see Mr. Spalding.

According to this record of Mrs. Spalding's, evidently written at the time, Timothy said before he left: "You are my great interpretor. You was sent by God to me and to this people, to teach us life, the word of God. You are going first, God only is good and great.

⁹⁷ *Minutes, Synod of Washington*, 1903, p. 269. It is there stated: "after which the assembled brethren and sisters adjourned from the house to the church and Umhawalish's wife was baptized receiving the name of Dr. Whitman's wife."

⁹⁸ Copy of inscription in Coll. W.

Jesus alone gives life. Now don't be concerned. I will never turn back, my wife will never turn back, this people will never turn back."⁹⁹

Sometime during the week, after the fourth of July, H. T. Cowley passed through Kamiah, after being in Spokane. He found his old friend very weak, and spent a week with him. It was finally decided that Spalding should be sent to Lapwai, where he could secure more regular care from the Agency's physician, Dr. George Alexander. Tender hands lifted him to a cot, and then lifted the cot on to a farm wagon. He was taken by easy stages over the sixty miles to Lapwai, where he was given a room in one of the Government houses.¹⁰⁰ Miss Sue McBeth, who had arrived at Lapwai the previous fall as a Government teacher, assisted Mrs. Spalding in ministering to the needs of the dying man.

HIS DEATH

Spalding was comforted to be back at Lapwai. One of his wishes was coming true: he was to die among the Nez Percés. He suffered much, and prayed that he would have an easy passage. The two women were at his side on Monday, August 3, when the end came. Just before he lost consciousness, Miss Sue McBeth leaned over and asked: "Do you feel that Jesus is with you, and helps you?" He rallied his spirit to reply: "Jesus only, oh how I love him." They were his last words on earth. Henry Harmon Spalding was dead.¹⁰¹

Unfortunately, we do not have the details of the funeral. They were surely held in the church at Lapwai, later torn down; surely crowds of the Indians were present; and surely old Timothy spoke. Rev. George Ainslie was probably in charge. Only Henry, of the four chil-

⁹⁹ Original, Coll. W.

¹⁰⁰ The house was identified to me by Mrs. Frances Monteith, who lived at Lapwai at the time. It was used for a time as a Government pharmacy. Miss Sue McBeth occupied a room in it. The house is still standing, being located to the north of the Spalding church.—C.M.D.

¹⁰¹ McBeth to Cowley, Aug. 6, 1874. Coll. W.



House at Spalding, Idaho, in which it is thought H. H. Spalding died.
Photograph by C. M. Drury.



The Spalding grave (stone marked with an X) in a grove of locust trees, Spalding, Idaho. Mrs. Spalding's remains were buried there in 1913. A monument was erected over their graves in 1925. This locust grove was cut down during the World War to furnish wood for ship pins.

Courtesy Miss Mary Crawford, Lapwai, Idaho.

dren, was able to be present.¹⁰² They laid his body in a grave, in a grove of locust trees,¹⁰³ near the site of his home of 1838, where it still lies.

Mr. Ainslie wrote a brief review of his life which was published in *The Foreign Missionary*, in which he said:

Although his work has been thus interrupted by long intervals of absence, it is wonderful how much, chiefly by his instrumentality, has been accomplished for this people. From savaghood they have been raised to a good degree of civilization. From knowing nothing of the Gospel, a very large proportion of the tribe have become its professed followers.

No man of the Church—perhaps no man living—has, in the last three years, baptized and received into the Church of God so many converts as Father Spalding.¹⁰⁴

Spalding's thirty-eight years of pioneer labor in Old Oregon were finished.¹⁰⁵

And I heard a voice from heaven saying, write, blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labors; for their works follow with them.

¹⁰² Henry then lived at Mt. Idaho. It is reported that he organized Charity Grange No. 15 there on July 15, 1874.

¹⁰³ The locust tree is not native to Idaho. Spalding brought seeds with him from the East and planted them at Lapwai.

¹⁰⁴ *Foreign Missionary*, Oct., 1874, pp. 138-139. The *Idaho Signal*, Aug. 8, 1874, carried a brief obituary notice, saying that he died "of consumption of the stomach."

¹⁰⁵ The following is taken from Spalding's obituary printed in the *Portland Oregonian*, August 22, 1874, and reprinted in the *Pacific*, Sept. 3. "He has been a noble, self-sacrificing, faithful laborer for the elevation of the Indians. . . . Perhaps it is to his influence more than to any other single cause, that the Nez Perces are indebted for the distinction they enjoy of being regarded as the most intelligent, and the least savage of all our Indian tribes."

EPILOGUE

AFTER the funeral, Mrs. Spalding made preparations to leave for Oregon, where her relatives and friends lived. On Thursday, August 12, she took a walk around the old mission house erected in 1838, through the orchard still bearing fruit, and past the site of the stone church the government had started to build in 1863. H. T. Cowley was with her, and they talked about the desirability of taking some steps to preserve the relics of the days that were gone.

Cowley wrote to Dr. Geary, at Mrs. Spalding's suggestion, and urged that some steps be taken to preserve "these old mementoes of her husband's early labors." Cowley declared that: "They are now uncared for, no fence about them, and are liable to be—and in fact are being defaced and injured daily by the Indians, and by cattle."¹ The plea went unheeded.

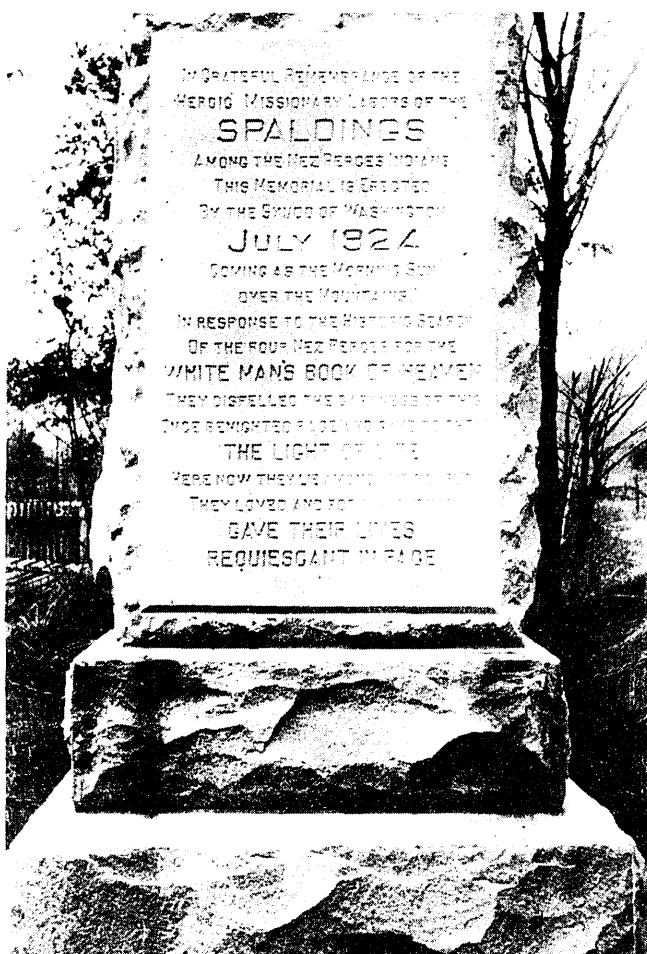
The trees of the orchard gradually died out. One was reported to have been standing as late as 1925. Ex-Governor W. J. McConnell of Idaho visited the site in 1898, and at that time found the roof of the house partly fallen in.² The building remained standing until 1901 or 1902, when it was torn down. In its later years it was used as a stable for horses. It is reported that it was finally torn down and used for fuel—what a pity! Today, two piles of rocks about thirty feet apart mark the site, and indicate the place where the two fireplaces stood.³ The State of Idaho, by act of Legislature of 1935, set aside the site, including twelve acres as a state park.

Other faithful and devoted missionaries followed in the footsteps of the Spaldings, the greatest of whom were the McBeth sisters. A training school for Indian ministers was established, from which some twenty-one

¹ Coll. W.

² McConnell, *Early History of Idaho*, p. 38.

³ The D. A. R. erected an iron fence around the site of the 1838 home in February, 1935.



Back view of Spalding Memorial Monument.

trained men were graduated. These were ordained by the Presbyterian Church and sent out to minister not only to the Nez Perces but to other tribes of the West as well. The greatest of these Indian ministers was James Hayes, D.D., the Indian apostle who, so it is believed, preached to every tribe on the Pacific Coast west of the Rockies, between Canada and Mexico.

In September, 1913, the remains of Mrs. Eliza Spalding were brought from Brownsville, Oregon, to be laid beside those of her husband. A memorial service was held in the Spalding church on Thursday, September 3. The following description of the service is given by Miss Kate McBeth, who was present that day.

Rev. M. K. Arthur went for the precious box and placed it in the church. It was only a small box about three feet long.

It was placed in front of the pulpit on two chairs. Two dishes of beautiful lavender and white asters were placed at either end of the box and were later taken to the cemetery.⁴

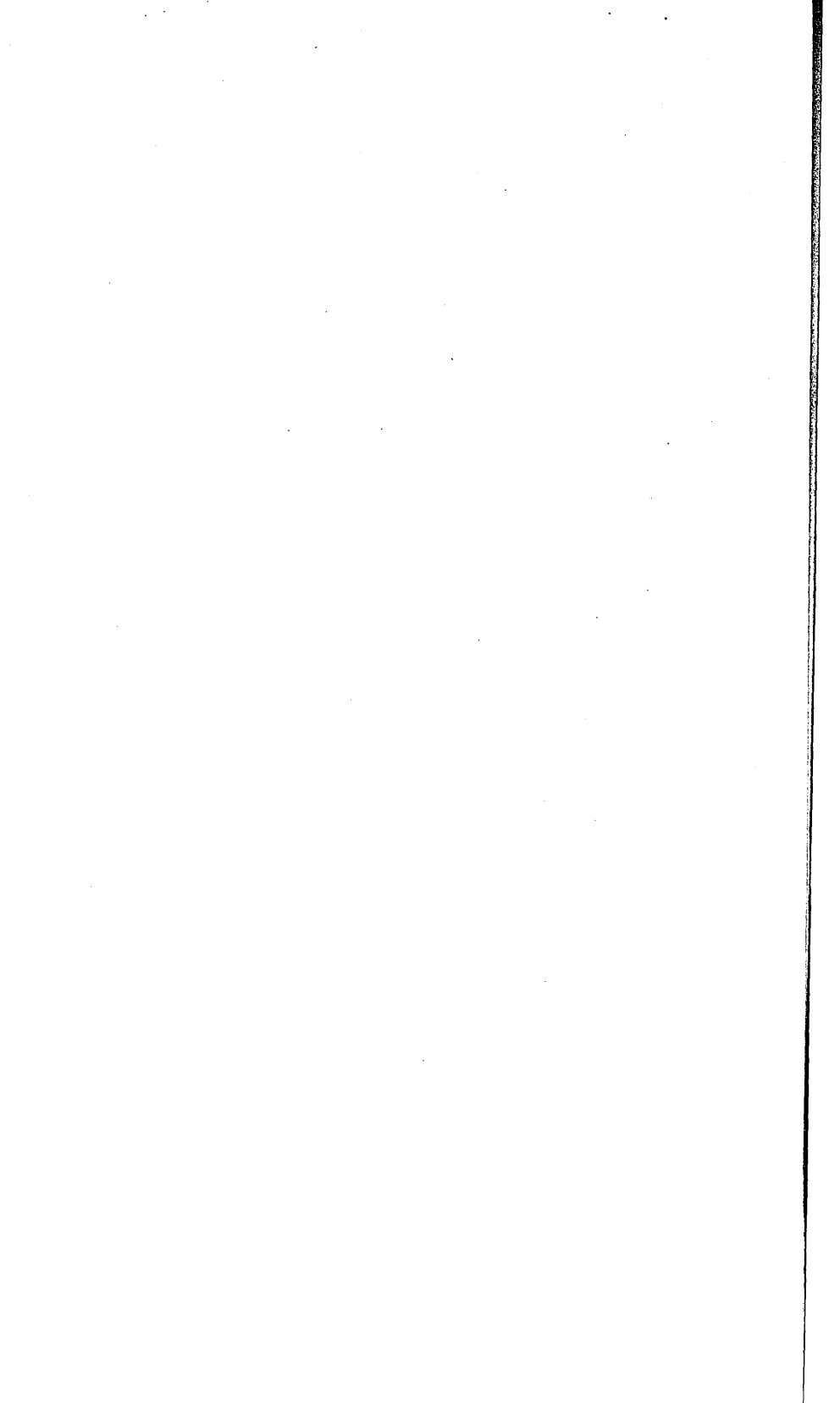
Rev. M. K. Arthur, one of the ordained Nez Perce ministers, conducted the memorial service. The Nez Perces sang some of the hymns Spalding had translated. Rev. James Dickson, another of their ministers, led a brief service at the grave.

In the summer of 1925, the Synod of Washington, of which northern Idaho was then a part, dedicated a marble monument, which had been erected over the two graves, with appropriate ceremonies. A tardy acknowledgment of the real greatness of H. H. Spalding is now being given. In 1928, the alumni of Franklin Academy placed a plaque on a large boulder in Prattsburg in honor of the pioneer missionary to Old Oregon.

The name Lapwai, by a curious turn of circumstances, has shifted from its original site to the old fort and Agency, four miles up the Lapwai creek. Old Lapwai is now known as Spalding.⁵ Thus the name of the old mission site aids in perpetuating his memory.

⁴ Warren, *Memoirs*, p. 47.

⁵ The Spalding post office was established on June 17, 1897. The name was at first spelled Spaulding, but was changed to omit the "u" on October 11, 1897.





The Spalding home built in 1838, painted in oils by Rowena Lung Alcorn from photographs taken 1890-1900, and from other descriptive material. Here is where the first white family in Idaho lived for nine years.

SPALDING CORRESPONDENCE

1833—APRIL 6, 1848

THE following is a list of the Spalding correspondence located and consulted in the preparation of this work. These letters have been referred to by number in the footnotes. A longer list could have been prepared of the letters written after April 6, 1848, but since these are not so important nor referred to so often, such a list was not made.

The following list contains the record of ten letters that Mrs. Spalding wrote, and four which were joint letters of herself and her husband. Another letter of Mrs. Spalding's not here listed, was written August 5, 1850, to her sister Lorena. This is to be found in Coll. P. This gives a total of but fifteen letters which Mrs. Spalding wrote either in whole or in part which are now known. (More than ninety of Mrs. Whitman's letters have been kept.) The Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, has the best collection of Mrs. Spalding's letters in existence.

KEY: Collections in which these letters are to be found are designated by letters, i. e., A—American Board, etc. See list of abbreviations at the beginning of this book. Persons to whom the letters were addressed are designated by the following numbers:

- 1—To members of Mrs. Spalding's family.
- 2—To the American Board, or to Mr. David Greene, Sec.
- 3—To the Allens, Kinsman, Ohio.
- 4—To other friends in the East.
- 5—To A. T. Smith, Tualatin Plains, Oregon.
- 6—To Mr. or Mrs. Elkanah Walker, or to Mr. and Mrs. Cushing Eells, Tshimakain.

All dates of letters written by Mrs. Spalding are in italics. Dates in parentheses indicate that both Mr. and Mrs. Spalding wrote. Most of the letters here listed have been studied in the originals.

No.	Place of Writing	To Whom	Date	Coll.	Book, Paper or Magazine
1833					
1	Hudson, Ohio	1	(Sept.)	P	
1834					
2	Walnut Hills, Ohio	1	(Mar. 31)	P	
1835					
3	Prattsburg, N. Y.	2	Aug. 7	A	
4	Prattsburg, N. Y.	2	Aug. 31	A	
5	Holland Patent, N. Y.	2	Dec. 28	A	
1836					
6	Jamestown, N. Y.	2	Feb. 17	A	
7	Marietta, Ohio	2	Mar. 2	A	
8	Otoe Agency	2	May 20	A	
9	Forks of Platte	2	June 1	A	
10	Rendezvous	2	July 8	A	
11	Vancouver	2	Sept. 20	A	
12	Walla Walla	4	(Oct. 2)	Wn	O. H. Q., Vol. 13
1837					
13	Nez Perce Mission	1	Feb. 16	P	
14	Nez Perce Mission	2	Feb. 16	A	
15	Nez Perce Mission	Gray	Feb. 20		
16	Nez Perce Mission	Parker	Feb. 21		Gray's Journal Parker Ms., Cornell U.
17	Nez Perce Mission	1	(May 1)	P	
18	Fort Colville	2	Sept. 4	A	
1838					
19	Nez Perce Mission	2	Mar. 15	A	
20	Nez Perce Mission	1	April 21	W	
21	Nez Perce Mission	2	April 21	A	
22	Nez Perce Mission	2	May 15	A	
23	Clearwater	2	July 10	A	
24	Clearwater	2	Sept. 11	A	
24a	Clearwater	1	Sept. 24		Idaho Hist. Soc., Boise

No.	Place of Writing	To Whom	Date	Coll.	Book, Paper or Magazine
25	Clearwater	2	Nov. 26	A	
26	Clearwater	2	Dec. 10	A	
27	Clearwater	6	Dec. 22	W	
1839					
28	Clearwater	6	Jan. 8	S	(A copy)
29	Clearwater	2	Mar. 5	A	
30	Clearwater	2	Sept. 10	A	
31	Clearwater	6	Sept. 10	S	(A copy)
32	Clearwater	2	Oct. 2	A	
1840					
33	Clearwater	2	Mar. 16	A	
34	Clearwater	2	April 1	A	
35	Clearwater	Mrs. Griffin	April 10	P	
36	Clearwater	1	April 22	P	
37	Clearwater	2	Sept. 22	A	
38	Clearwater	2	Oct. 22	A	
1841					
39	Clearwater	2	July 12	A	
40	Clearwater	5	Aug. 24	S	
41	Clearwater	6	Sept. 25	W	
42	Clearwater	5	Oct. 8	S	
1842					
42a	Clearwater	5	Feb. 14	W	
43	Clearwater	2	Feb. 15	A	
44	Clearwater	3	Feb. 18		Warren, <i>Memoirs</i>
45	Clearwater	2	Oct. 15	A	
46	Clearwater	5	Nov. 15	S	
1843					
47	Clearwater	McLoughlin	Undated		Allen, <i>Travels</i> , p. 189
48	Clearwater	White	Undated		Allen, <i>Travels</i> , p. 201
49	Clearwater	5	Jan. 7	S	

No.	Place of Writing	To Whom	Date	Coll.	Book, Paper or Magazine
50	Clearwater	2	Feb. 26	A	
51	Clearwater	5	April 3	W	
52	Clearwater	1	April 28	P	(A copy)
53	Clearwater	Geiger	May 10		
54	Clearwater	5	May 27	W	
55	Clearwater	3	July 29		Mrs. Simpson, Twin Falls, Ida.
56	Clearwater	6	Oct. 2	W	
57	Clearwater	Chamberlain	Oct. 10		O. H. Q., Dec., 1933
1844					
58	Clearwater	1	April 5	P	
59	Clearwater	2	April 8	A	
1845					
60	Clearwater	3	Sept. 15		Warren, <i>Memoirs</i>
61	Clearwater	3	Oct. 9		Warren, <i>Memoirs</i>
62	Clearwater	2	Oct. 12	A	
1846					
63	Clearwater	2	Jan. 25	A	
64	Clearwater	2	Feb. 12	A	
65	Clearwater	Joel Palmer	April 7		Palmer, <i>Travels</i>
66	Clearwater	2	June 6	A	
67	Clearwater	3	April 27		Oberlin Alumni Magazine
68	Clearwater	3	Sept. 28		Ohio Observer, Nov., 1847
1847					
69	Clearwater	2	Feb. 3	A	
70	Clearwater	5	Feb. 22	S	
71	Clearwater	6	March 8	O	(From Photostat)
72	Clearwater	2	April 2	A	
73	Wailatpu	2	June 15	A	
74	Clearwater	2	Aug. 3	A	
75	Clearwater	3	Oct. 14		Warren, <i>Memoirs</i>
76	Clearwater	Bishop Blanchett	Dec. 10		Marshall, A. O., II, 217

No.	Place of Writing	To Whom	Date	Coll.	Book, Paper or Magazine
77	Clearwater	.....McBean	Dec. 10	.....	Marshall, A. O. 220
78	Clearwater	.....Ogden	Dec. 25	.....	Marshall, A. O. 224
1848					
79	Fort Walla Walla	.....6	Jan. 1	.....S	(Copy)
80	Vancouver	.....2	Jan. 8	.....A	
81	Oregon City	.....2	Jan. 24	.....A	
82	Oregon City	.....3	Mar. 16	.....	<i>Christian Observer</i> , Oct. 28, '48
83	Oregon City	Mrs. Whitman's parents	April 6	.....W	<i>T. O. P. A.</i> , 1893, pp. 93, ff.

Copies of nearly all of the foregoing list of letters of Spalding to the American Board are to be found in the files of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon. The originals of the Spalding letters of which the Spokane Public Library has copies are to be found in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, with the Walker diary. Some of the originals of the letters found in Warren, *Memoirs*, are in the Historical Room of the First Presbyterian Church, Portland, Oregon, of which Mrs. J. Thorburn Ross is custodian.

INDIAN AGENTS AT LAPWAI

The following list of U. S. Indian Agents who served at Lapwai up to 1879 was secured from Miss W. E. Allen, Librarian, Office of Indian Affairs, United States Department of Interior.

JOHN CAIN—appointed agent to the Nez Perces, January 4, 1854, and served until August 19, 1858. On this date he was appointed agent to the Nez Perces "and other tribes," and served until June 13, 1861.

CHARLES HUTCHINS—succeeded John Cain, and served until August 25, 1862.¹

J. W. ANDERSON—succeeded Hutchins and served until July 16, 1864.

JAMES O'NEIL—July 16, 1864 to July 23, 1868.

ROBERT NEWELL—July 23, 1868, to June 10, 1869, when he was suspended.

LIEUTENANT J. W. WHANN—June 10, 1869 to February 10, 1870.

CAPTAIN A. M. SELLS—relieved Lieut. Whann and was himself relieved on November 5, 1870.

JOHN A. SIMMS—November 5, 1870, removed February 8, 1871, his card showing "no service."

JOHN B. MONTEITH—February 8, 1871, to March 3, 1879. He served during the Chief Joseph uprising and was succeeded by Charles D. Warner, and later by Charles Monteith.

¹ *T.O.P.A.*, 1897, p. 116, states that Hutchins died in the summer of 1862.

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Map Showing the Progress of the Spalding-Whitman Party
Across the Plains and Mountains in 1836.

